DEMOSTHENES EDUCATING HIS VOICE.

Photogravure after the Painting by Jules Jean Lecompte-du-Nouy.

It is said that Demosthenes was educated in the school of Isæus. It has never been proven that he did not actually practice elocution by the seashore with pebbles in his mouth. Those who delight in negative criticism have challenged the story, but they will never rob it of its charm for the painter and the lover of the picturesque.

TEXT-BOOKS

OF THE

AMERICAN LYCEUM CIRCLE

THE

WORLD'S BEST ORATIONS

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME

DAVID J. BREWER
EDITOR

EDWARD A. ALLEN WILLIAM SCHUYLER
ASSOCIATE EDITORS

TEN VOLUMES

VOL. 5

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ROUGET DE L'ISLE SINGING THE MARSEILLAISE.

Autogravure after the Picture by Pils in the Louvre.

The Marseillaise hymn was composed at Strasburg on the night of April 24th, 1792, by Claude Joseph Rouget De L'Isle, then a captain of engineers. On April 25th it was sung at the house of the mayor (Dietrich), copied and arranged for a military band, by which it was performed publicly for the first time at a review of the National guard on Sunday, April 29th. Grove says, in his 'Dictionary of Music,' that it was sung at a Civic banquet in Marseilles on June 25th, with such effect that copies of it were printed and distributed to the volunteers then on the eve of starting to Paris. They entered Paris July 30th, singing it, and they sang it again as they marched to the attack on the Tuileries on August 10th of the same year. The picture by Pils shows, supposably, the scene of the first rendition by the composer himself in the mayor's house on April 25th.

GEORGE JACQUES DANTON

(1759–1794)

DANTON, the greatest of the French Jacobins, and one of the most formidable figures in modern history, was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, October 28th, 1759, and he had not completed his thirty-fifth year when he went to the guillotine, declaring it better to live a poor fisherman than to have anything to do with the government of men.

No other man in modern times has so well and so reasonably embodied the latent fierceness of society. When the young French Republic was hemmed round with enemies; when all the forces of the world seemed leagued against the handful of radicals and fanatics who were attempting to make a constructive force out of the chaotic impulses of the Parisian mob, Danton gave the keynote of his own character and of the character of the great epoch which created him, in a single sentence: «To conquer we have need to dare, to dare again, always to dare; and France will be saved!» That sentence and yet another of Danton's overthrew Bourbonism. The other was: «Let France be free, though my name were accursed!» When a man of average abilities and average education so devotes himself to any cause that he accepts in advance, as a probable incident of his work, not merely death, but infamy, he has already more than half accomplished the possibilities of such achievement as made Danton the constructive power by virtue of which the French Republic of the last quarter of the nineteenth century developed out of the Reign of Terror. In the Arabian story those who attempt to climb an enchanted mountain to find the talisman of power at the top are assailed at every step of their upward progress by shrieks of execration from unseen enemies attacking them from behind with every imaginable calumny, every conceivable insult. Those who stop to answer or turn back to punish these intangible «conservative forces» are at once transformed to smooth, black stones, destined to remain inert under the power of obstruction until some one comes, so strong, so self-contained, so capable of maintaining a set purpose, that, like Danton, he will press forward to his object without fearing either the death or the infamy with which he is threatened. Then the smooth stones once more become men, and by virtue of the

strength of the one leader as they crowd around him, all their failures become a part of his success.

If the story were an allegory as it seems to be, it would come nearer than any biography of Danton can come to suggesting the secret of his success and of his overthrow. He was at once devoted and desperate. Threatened with everlasting infamy, he considered what it would mean, and took the risk. He saw certain death before him, and went forward to meet it, shrinking less from it for himself than he had done in inflicting it on others. It is doubtful if such a man could be created except through the very forces he so fiercely antagonized. The impulse of tyranny, of mastering men so as to compel them at their peril to accept the will of another, is shown in the life of Danton as it was in that of the other Attilas who are recognized by the generations after them as "Scourges of God." But neither an Attila nor a Danton could exist in a normal society. It is only when a civilization is effete that the strongest men become at once disorganizers and reorganizers. It is part of the theory of Pasteur that as soon as life leaves matter the same invisible organisms which operated to keep it alive begin to disintegrate it, that it may be reorganized into other, and in the sum of things into higher forms of life. We cannot study the life and work of such menacing and Titanic figures as Danton without seeing that in its economies and the conservation of its energies, nature is a unit, true to itself in what is greatest as in what is least.

Danton was a struggling young lawyer in Paris when the Revolution overtook him. In the Cordeliers Club he fitted himself for the popular leadership which came to him as a result of his fitness, when Mirabeau, the idol of the people, deserted them for the court. Called the "Mirabeau of the Sans-Culottes," Danton did not disdain the title. He accepted as an existing fact the wild desire of the populace of Paris to be free; their fierce determination to go to any extreme rather than return to the old order of things; and counting on it not only as a fact but as a force of the greatest possibilities, he attempted to use it first to demolish entirely the ruins of the monarchy and on the old foundations to build the splendid structure of his ideal Republic. His people were not fit for his ideal, nor was he himself. Loving justice, mercy, and liberty, he could still reconcile himself to shedding the blood of those he respected for their intentions, while he opposed their purposes. In his own death he foresaw and prophesied that of Robespierre. No doubt, he foresaw the guillotine for himself in the death of Vergniaud. It is certain that he was doomed when, regretting the "logic of the situation" which sent the Girondists to the scaffold, he did not oppose to it the same fiery energy that had saved the Republic from the Bourbons.

But his character shows always the same radical fault which appears in his oratory. He had for the time being the almost omnipotent power of passion, directed by intellect, but too intense to be sustained, and ending in inevitable reaction. It was in the impotence of such a reaction that on April 5th, 1794, Danton accepted the inevitable and went to the scaffold, leaving France and civilization "in a frightful welter," out of which were to come Napoleon, Hugo, Thiers, and Gambetta, Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, and Lincoln.

W. V. B.

TO DARE, TO DARE AGAIN; ALWAYS TO DARE

(Delivered in the National Assembly, September 2d, 1792, on the Defense of the Republic)

It seems a satisfaction for the ministers of a free people to announce to them that their country will be saved. All are stirred, all are enthused, all burn to enter the combat.

You know that Verdun is not yet in the power of our enemies and that its garrison swears to immolate the first who breathes a proposition of surrender.

One portion of our people will guard our frontiers, another will dig and arm the entrenchments, the third with pikes will defend the interior of our cities. Paris will second these great efforts. The commissioners of the Commune will solemnly proclaim to the citizens the invitation to arm and march to the defense of the country. At such a moment you can proclaim that the capital deserves the esteem of all France. At such a moment this National Assembly becomes a veritable committee of war. We ask that you concur with us in directing this sublime movement of the people, by naming commissioners to second and assist all these great measures. We ask that any one refusing to give personal service or to furnish arms shall meet the punishment of death. We ask that proper instructions be given to the citizens to direct their movements. We ask that carriers be sent to all the departments to notify them of the decrees that you proclaim here. The tocsin we shall sound is not the alarm signal of danger, it orders the charge on the enemies of France. [Applause.] To conquer we have need to dare, to dare again, always to dare! And France will be saved!

(*Pour les vaincre, il nous faut de l'audace; encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace; et la France est sauvée.*)

«LET FRANCE BE FREE, THOUGH MY NAME WERE ACCURSED»

(On the Disasters on the Frontier — Delivered in Convention, March 10th, 1793)

THE general considerations that have been presented to you are true; but at this moment it is less necessary to examine the causes of the disasters that have struck us than to apply their remedy rapidly. When the edifice is on fire, I do not join the rascals who would steal the furniture, I extinguish the flames. I tell you therefore you should be convinced by the dispatches of Dumouriez that you have not a moment to spare in saving the Republic.

Dumouriez conceived a plan which did honor to his genius. I would render him greater justice and praise than I did recently. But three months ago he announced to the executive power, your General Committee of Defense, that if we were not audacious enough to invade Holland in the middle of winter, to declare instantly against England the war which actually we had long been making, that we would double the difficulties of our campaign, in giving our enemies the time to deploy their forces. Since we failed to recognize this stroke of his genius, we must now repair our faults.

Dumouriez is not discouraged; he is in the middle of Holland, where he will find munitions of war; to overthrow all our enemies, he wants but Frenchmen, and France is filled with citizens. Would we be free? If we no longer desire it, let us perish, for we have all sworn it. If we wish it, let all march to defend our independence. Your enemies are making their last efforts. Pitt recognizing he has all to lose, dares spare nothing. Take Holland, and Carthage is destroyed and England can no longer exist but for Liberty! Let Holland be conquered to Liberty; and even the commercial aristocracy itself, which at the moment dominates the English people, would rise against the government which had dragged it into this despotic war against a free people. They would overthrow this ministry of stupidity, who thought the methods of the *ancien régime* could smother the genius of Liberty breathing in France. This ministry once overthrown in the interests of commerce, the party of Liberty would show itself; for it is not dead! And if you know your duties, if your commissioners leave at once, if you extend the hand to the strangers

aspiring to destroy all forms of tyranny, France is saved and the world is free.

Expedite, then, your commissioners; sustain them with your energy; let them leave this very night, this very evening.

Let them say to the opulent classes, the aristocracy of Europe must succumb to our efforts, and pay our debt, or you will have to pay it! The people have nothing but blood,—they lavish it! Go, then, ingrates, and lavish your wealth! [Wild applause.] See, citizens, the fair destinies that await you. What! you have a whole nation as a lever, its reason as your fulcrum and you have not yet upturned the world! To do this we need firmness and character, and of a truth we lack it. I put to one side all passions. They are all strangers to me save a passion for the public good.

In the most difficult situations, when the enemy was at the gates of Paris, I said to those governing: "Your discussions are shameful, I can see but the enemy." [Fresh applause.] You tire me by squabbling in place of occupying yourselves with the safety of the Repubic! I repudiate you all as traitors to our country! I place you all in the same line!" I said to them: "What care I for my reputation! Let France be free, though my name were accursed!" What care I that I am called "a blood-drinker"! Well, let us drink the blood of the enemies of humanity, if needful; but let us struggle, let us achieve freedom. Some fear the departure of the commissioners may weaken one or the other section of this convention. Vain fears! Carry your energy everywhere. The pleasantest declaration will be to announce to the people that the terrible debt weighing upon them will be wrested from their enemies or that the rich will shortly have to pay it. The national situation is cruel. The representatives of value are no longer in equilibrium in the circulation. The day of the workingman is lengthened beyond necessity. A great corrective measure is necessary! Conquerors of Holland reanimate in England the Republican party; let us advance France and we shall go glorified to posterity. Achieve these grand destinies; no more debates, no more quarrels, and the Fatherland is saved.

AGAINST IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT

(Delivered in the Convention, March 9th, 1793)

BEYOND a doubt, citizens, the hopes of your commissioners will not be deceived. Yes, your enemies, the enemies of liberty shall be exterminated, for your efforts shall be relentless. You are worthy the dignity of regulating and controlling the nation's energy. Your commissioners, disseminated in all parts of the Republic, will repeat to Frenchmen that the great quarrel between despotism and liberty shall soon terminate. The people of France shall be avenged; it becomes us then to put the political world in harmony, to make laws in accord with such harmony. But before we too deeply entertain these grander objects, I shall ask you to make a declaration of a principle too long ignored; to abolish a baneful error, to destroy the tyranny of wealth upon misery.

If the measures I propose be adopted, then Pitt, the Breteuil of English diplomacy, and Burke, the Abbé Maury of the British Parliament, who are impelling the English people to-day against liberty, may be touched.

What do you ask? You would have every Frenchman armed in the common defense. And yet there is a class of men sullied by no crime, who have stout arms, but no liberty. They are the unfortunates detained for debt. It is a shame for humanity, it is against all philosophy, that a man in receiving money can pawn his person as security. I can readily prove that this principle is favorable to cupidity, since experience proves that the lender takes no pecuniary security, since he has the disposition of the body of his debtor. But of what importance are these mercantile considerations? They should not influence a great nation. Principles are eternal, and no Frenchman can be rightly deprived of his liberty unless he has forfeited it to society. The possessing and owning class need not be alarmed. Doubtless, some individuals go to extremes, but the nation, always just, will respect all the proprieties. Respect misery, and misery will respect opulence. [Applause.] Never wrong the unfortunate, and the unfortunate, who have more soul than the rich, will remain guiltless. [Loud applause.]

I ask that this National Convention declare that every French citizen imprisoned for debt shall be liberated, because such imprisonment is contrary to moral health, contrary to the rights of man, and to the true principles of liberty.

EDUCATION, FREE AND COMPULSORY

(From a Speech Delivered in the Convention, August 13th, 1793)

Citizens:—

After having given liberty to France; after having vanquished her enemies, there can be no honor greater than to prepare for future generations an education in keeping with that liberty. This is the object which Lepeletier proposes: that all that is good for society shall be adopted by those who live under its social contract. . . . It has been said that paternal affection opposes the execution of such plans. Certainly we must respect natural rights even in their perversion. But even if we do not fully sustain compulsory schooling, we must not deprive the children of the poor of an education.

The greatest objection has been that of finding the means; but I have already said there is no real extravagance where the good result to the public is so great, and I add the principle that the child of the poor can be taught at the expense of the superfluities of the scandalous fortunes erected among us. It is to you who are celebrated among our Republicans that I appeal; bring to this subject the fire of your imagination, the energy of your character. It is the people who must endow national education.

When you commence to sow this seed of education in the vast field of the Republic, you must not count the expense of reaping the harvest. After bread, education is the first need of a people. [Applause.] I ask that the question be submitted, that there be founded at the expense of the nation establishments where each citizen can have the right to send his children for free public instruction. It is to the monks—it is to the age of Louis XIV., when men were great by their acquirements, that we owe the age of philosophy, that is to say, of reason, brought to the knowledge of the people. To the Jesuits, lost by their political ambitions, we owe an impetus in education evoking our admiration. But the Republic has been in the souls of our people,

twenty years ahead of its proclamation. Corneille wrote dedications to Montauron, but Corneille made the 'Cid,' 'Cinna'; Corneille spoke like a Roman, and he who said: "For being more than a king you think you are something," was a true Republican.

Now for public instruction; everything shrinks in domestic teaching, everything enlarges and ennobles in public communal instruction. A mistake is made in presenting a tableau of paternal affections. I, too, am a father, and more so than the aristocrats who oppose public education, for they are never sure of their paternities. [Laughter.] When I consider my rights relatively to the general good I feel elevated; my son is not mine. He belongs to the Republic. Let her dictate his duties that he can best serve her. It has been said it is repugnant to the heart of our peasantry to make such sacrifice of their children. Well, do not constrain them too much. Let there be classes, if necessary, that only meet on the Sabbath. Begin the system by a gradual adaptation to the manners of the people. If you expect the State to make an instant and absolute regeneration, you will never get public instruction. It is necessary that each man develop the moral means and methods he received from nature. Have for them all communal houses and faculties for instruction, and do not stop at any secondary considerations. The rich man will pay, and will lose nothing if he will profit for the instruction of his son.

I ask, then, that under suitable and necessary modifications you decree the erection of national establishments where children can be instructed, fed, and lodged gratuitously, and the citizens who desire to retain their children at home can send them there for instruction.

Convention, December 12th, 1793.— It is a proper time to establish the principle which seems misunderstood, that the youth belong to the Republic before they belong to their parents. No one more than myself respects nature, but of what avail the reasoning of the individual against the reason of the nation? In the national schools the child will suck the milk of Republicanism. The Republic is one and indivisible. Public instruction produces such a centre of unity. To none, then, can we accord the privilege of isolation from such benefits.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

(Delivered in the Convention, April 18th, 1793)

We have appeared divided in counsel, but the instant we seek the good of mankind we are in accord. Vergniaud has told us grand and immortal truths. The Constitutional Assembly, embarrassed by a king, by the prejudices which still enchain the nation, and by deep-rooted intolerance, has not uprooted accepted principles, but has done much for liberty in consecrating the doctrine of tolerance. To-day the ground of liberty is prepared and we owe to the French people a government founded on bases pure and eternal! Yes! we shall say to them: Frenchmen you have the right to adore the divinity you deem entitled to your worship: "The liberty of worship, which it is the object of law to establish, means only the right of individuals to assemble to render in their own way homage to the Deity." Such a form of liberty is enforcible only by legal regulations and the police, but you do not wish to insert regulating laws in your declaration of rights. The right of freedom of worship, a sacred right, will be protected by laws in harmony with its principles. We will have only to guarantee these rights. Human reason cannot retrograde; we have advanced too far for the people ever to believe they are not absolutely free in religious thought, merely because you have failed to engrave the principle of this liberty on the table of your laws. If superstition still seem to inhere in the movements of the Republic, it is because our political enemies always employ it. But look! everywhere the people, freed from malevolent espionage, recognize that any one assuming to interpose between them and their God is an impostor.

«SQUEEZING THE SPONGE»

(On Taxing the Rich — Delivered in the Convention, April 27th, 1793)

You have decreed "honorable mention" of what has been done for the public benefit by the Department De L'Hevault. In this decree you authorize the whole Republic to adopt the same measures, for your decree ratifies all the acts which have just been brought to your knowledge.

If everywhere the same measures be taken, the Republic is saved. No more shall we treat as agitators and anarchists the ardent friends of liberty who set the nation in motion, but we shall say: "Honor to the agitators who turn the vigor of the people against its enemies!" When the Temple of Liberty shall be reared, the people will know how to decorate it. Rather perish France than to return to our hard slavery. Let it not be believed we shall become barbarians after we shall have founded liberty. We shall embellish France until the despots shall envy us; but while the ship of State is in the stress of storm, beaten by the tempest, that which belongs to each, belongs to all.

No longer are Agrarian Laws spoken of! The people are wiser than their calumniators assumed, and the people in mass have much more sense than many of those who deem themselves great men. In a people we can no more count the great men than we can count the giant trees in the vast forest. It was believed that the people wanted the Agrarian Law, and this may throw suspicion on the measures adopted by the Department De L'Hevault. It will be said of them: "They taxed the rich"; but, citizens, to tax the rich is to serve them. It is rather a veritable advantage for them than any considerable sacrifice; and the greater the sacrifice, the greater the usufruct, for the greater is the guarantee to the foundation of property against the invasion of its enemies. It is an appeal to every man, according to his means, to save the Republic. The appeal is just. What the Department De L'Hevault has done, Paris and all France will do. See what resources France will procure. Paris has a luxury and wealth which is considerable. Well, by decree, this sponge will be squeezed! And with singular satisfaction it will be found that the people will conduct their revolution at the expense of their internal enemies. These enemies themselves will learn the price of liberty and will desire to possess it, when they will recognize that it has preserved for them their possessions.

Paris in making an appeal to capitalists will furnish her contingent, which will afford means to suppress the troubles in La Vendée; for, at any sacrifice, these troubles must be suppressed. On this alone depends your external tranquillity. Already, the Departments of the north have informed the combined despots that your territory cannot be divided; and soon you will prob-

ably learn of the dissolution of this formidable league of kings. For in uniting against you, they have not forgotten their ancient hatreds and respective pretensions; and if the Executive Council had had a little more latitude, the league might be already completely dissolved.

Paris, then, must be directed against La Vendée. All the men needed in this city to form a reserve camp should be sent at once to La Vendée. These measures once taken, the rebels will disperse, and, like the Austrians, will commence to kill each other. If the flames of this civil discord be extinguished, they will ask of us peace!

DAVID DAVIS

(1815–1886)

David Davis, celebrated for his independent position during a period of strong partisanship, was born in Cecil County, Maryland, March 9th, 1815, but he removed to Illinois at an age so early that, historically, he is completely identified with that State. He was a Republican, strongly supporting all the measures of that party for the restoration of the Union and the suppression of resistance to Federal authority, but after the war ended, without leaving the party, he asserted his right to use his individual judgment regardless of caucuses or of what he considered merely partisan policies. This attitude, well represented in his speech of April 22d, 1879, had a great influence on the politics of his time. He is supposed to have been the original type of the "Statesman on the Fence," but the jest of partisan paragraphers did not impair his usefulness or make him a less respectable figure, historically. He was Associate-Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1862 to 1877; United States Senator from Illinois from 1877 to 1883, and from 1881 to 1883 acting Vice-President of the United States. He died at Bloomington, Illinois, June 26th, 1886.

ON APPEAL FROM THE CAUCUS

(From the Speech on Freedom of Elections, Delivered in the United States Senate, April 22d, 1879)

Mr. President:—

The caucus is an important factor in American politics, and both the great parties of the country employ its agency. This is done on the theory that party action is most easily perfected by this method. I do not complain of the mode adopted to reach results, but as I have been for many years viewing public affairs from an independent standpoint, it does not help me to decide any question that may come before the Senate. Although usually preferring to give a silent vote, I cannot suffer this measure to be passed on without saying something on the subject.

The heat that has been manifested on the occasion of this debate has surprised me, if anything can surprise me in politics. A stranger unaccustomed to our modes of debate would suppose that the Union were in danger, and that the old questions, passions, prejudices, and purposes which it had been thought were laid aside forever were again revived. And this, too, fourteen years after the rebellion was conquered, and when there is no complaint from any quarter that the Federal compact presses too hard upon one section at the expense of another, and when the Federal Government is obeyed throughout the entire South.

There does not seem to be the least ground for the excitement and bitterness that have characterized the discussions in Congress at this session, and I should be amazed were it not that the record of all parties proves that majorities invariably commit legislative wrongs and minorities invariably protest against them. If it be true as charged that the success of one of the great parties of the country means revolution and ruin to constitutional liberty, of what value would be the securities of the Government, or, indeed, any other species of prosperty? In the nature of things, if a revolution were impending or there were any danger apprehended to free government or popular liberty, the Government would not be able to sell bonds at four per cent. interest, nor the stock market in New York to maintain its present high rate.

This charge, Mr. President, is mere fiction and has no foundation to rest on; but it produces infinite mischief and tends to demoralize the country and every material interest in it, alarms the thoughtless and timid, unsettles business and values, and produces a state of unrest in every community. It may succeed in winning elections, but it cannot restore prosperity. That great object can never be accomplished through a continuance of sectional strife and the violence that accompanies it, nor do I believe the people are in the mood for this kind of politics. They have had more than five years of harsh experience and they want to find some mode of relief from their present sufferings and impoverished condition. And they will honor the statesman who contributes to the stock of knowledge on this subject rather than the political leader who will not let the past alone.

I have no personal concern, Mr. President, in the rise and fall of parties, but I am deeply solicitous that the affairs of Government shall be so administered that labor seeking employ-

ment can obtain it; that all industrial pursuits will be suitably rewarded, and that heart be given to the people, North and South, to work out of their present embarrassments. We are one people, of the same blood and with the same destiny, and unity of feeling is essential to lift us out of the mire and to help us on the road to prosperity.

The different parts of our common country are so intimately connected in trade and commerce that, as a general rule, whatever injuriously affects one part has a corresponding effect on the other, and whatever benefits the one benefits the other.

It is, Mr. President, in my judgment, the imperative duty of the hour, instead of turning the attention of the people back into history with its animosities, to direct it to the troubled business interests of the country and the way to relieve them.

With the past buried and discussions on living issues, the people would soon regain confidence, which is essential in any plan for relieving the present hard times. It may be that such a course would affect the fortunes of parties — for both parties in Congress on any question of practical legislation fall to pieces — but it would have the most beneficial effect upon the fortunes of the country.

Without intending to reflect upon the patriotism of either party, it does appear to me that the speeches on the pending bill do not represent the wishes or opinions of the masses of the people of either section. Experience has taught them that legitimate business principles which lead to wealth and social happiness require a cessation from agitation on past subjects, and that sound policy dictates the cultivation of peace and good-will between the sections. The country, Mr. President, cannot be prosperous so long as the old conflict between the North and South is used at each recurring presidential election as an instrumentality of party success, and the statesman who shall rise equal to the occasion, and put it at rest, will receive the gratitude of a suffering people.

The bill before us is for the support of the Army for the ensuing fiscal year. It is attacked because the sixth section alters two provisions of the Revised Statutes. Section 2002 of these statutes reads as follows: —

"No military or naval officer, or other person engaged in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, shall order, bring, keep, or have under his authority or control any troops or armed

men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, or to keep the peace at the polls."

And Section 5528 is in these words:—

"Every officer of the Army or Navy, or other person in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States who orders, brings, keeps, or has under his authority or control any troops or armed men at any place where a general or special election is held in any State, unless such force be necessary to repel armed enemies of the United States or to keep the peace at the polls, shall be fined not more than $5,000, and suffer imprisonment at hard labor not less than three months nor more than five years."

These sections, though widely separated in the Revised Statutes, are parts of a general law passed on the twenty-fifth of February, 1865, "to prevent officers of the Army and Navy and other persons engaged in the service from interfering in elections in the States." (Statutes at Large, vol. xiii., page 437.)

The first section denounced the use of troops at elections except in two specified cases, and the second section provided the penalties for disobedience. The two excepted cases are when the troops were necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States or to keep peace at the polls. The sixth section of the Appropriation Bill proposes to strike from both sections the words "or to keep the peace at the polls," and nothing more, so that the Army cannot be used hereafter at elections for any purpose. As an abstract proposition, can there be any rational objection to this? Ought the Army to be used at the polls when there has been profound peace for more than a decade? Does any one believe that such a law would ever have received the approval of the American Congress if it had been brought forward in a time of peace? It was passed when a formidable civil war was in progress, taxing to the utmost the resources of the country.

In the opinion of the patriots of that day the state of feeling in certain parts of the country was of such a character as to endanger peaceful elections while the war lasted, unless a military force was kept in readiness for any outbreak of popular commotion. This was the conviction that prompted the legislation, but I venture to say no one of the eminent men who voted for it

intended or expected that it would remain a part of the permanent law of the land. They were too well read in the lessons of history and the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race to believe that a free people would tolerate — except on great emergencies like a war waged for the maintenance of the Union — the interference of the military in civic concerns. And they were men of principle and did not wish it to be otherwise.

It is no new thing in time of peace to repeal a law passed in time of war. Indeed, no wise statesman will hesitate to do it if the law be unsuitable to the changed condition of things. It is a part of the very nature of every man of our race to rebel against anything which interferes with the freedom of elections, and the days of the Republic are numbered if the people ever consent to place the ballot box under the protection of the bayonet.

But, Mr. President, this consent will never be obtained until they have forgotten the principles of constitutional liberty and the precedents set by the Commons of England. These precedents I refrain from referring to at length, but the preamble to an act passed in the time of George II. (1735), forbidding the presence of troops at elections, is so appropriate that I beg leave to read it:—

«WHEREAS, by the ancient common law of this land all elections ought to be free; and whereas by an act passed in the third year of the reign of King Edward I., of famous memory, it is commanded, upon great forfeiture, that no man, by force of arms, nor by malice or menacing, shall disturb any to make free election; and forasmuch as the freedom of elections of Members to serve in Parliament is of the utmost consequence to the preservation of the rights and liberties of this kingdom; and whereas it has been the usage and practice to cause any regiment, troop, or company, or any number of soldiers which hath been quartered in any city, borough, town or place where any election of Members to serve in Parliament hath been appointed to be made, to remove and continue out of the same during the time of such election, except in such particular cases as are hereinafter specified.»—'Pickering's Statutes,' vol. xvi.

And the 'History of Parliament' contains this incident:—

«The military having been called in to quell an alleged riot at Westminster election in 1741, it was resolved, December 22d, 'that the presence of a regular body of armed soldiers at an election of

Members to serve in Parliament is a high infringement of the liberties of the subject, a manifest violation of the freedom of elections, and an open defiance of the laws and constitution of this kingdom.' The persons concerned in this having been ordered to attend the House, received, on their knees, a very severe reprimand from the speaker."—'Parliament History,' vol. ix., page 326.

Can it be possible that a principle of common law—the right of the people to have an election free from the presence of troops—so dear to Englishmen one hundred years ago, is not equally dear to their descendants at the present day?

Mr. President, it will require some one now living to write accurately the history of these times, for the future historian will be slow to believe that there was any basis on which to rest such an inquiry in the Congress of the United States during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Why, then, should not the law of 1865 be altered in the manner proposed by this bill?

It is said that Mr. Lincoln signed it, and the inference is that it would reflect on his memory to change it. To say the least, this is a pretty strong presumption from such a predicate. No man loved Mr. Lincoln better or honors his memory more than I do, nor had any one greater opportunities to learn the constitution of his mind and character and his habits of thought. He was large-hearted, wiser than those associated with him, full of sympathy for struggling humanity, without malice, with charity for erring man, loving his whole country with a deep devotion, and intensely anxious to save it. Believing as I do that he was raised up by Providence for the great crisis of the War of the Rebellion, I have equal belief, had he lived, we would have been spared much of the strife of these latter days, and that we now would be on the highroad to prosperity. Such a man, hating all forms of oppression, and deeply imbued with the principle that induced the men of 1776 to resist the stamp tax, would never have willingly intrusted power to any one, unless war was flagrant, to send troops to oversee an election.

Why, then, I repeat, should not the proposed measure pass? There is no rebellion, nor any threatened, nor any domestic uproar anywhere. The Union is cemented by the blood that was shed in defense of its integrity; the laws are obeyed North and South, East and West, and our only real differences relate to the administration of the internal affairs of the Government. By the constitution of the human mind, there will of necessity be diverse

opinions among the people on the best way to manage their internal affairs, and Congress meets periodically to legislate for the people and to represent their views on the questions dividing them. But surely these differences, be they great or small, afford no justification for a departure from any of the principles that underlie republican government. If they do, the charter of our liberties will soon be frittered away. . . .

HENRY WINTER DAVIS

(1817–1865)

s a representative of Maryland who had opposed forcing issues on the abolition of slavery, Henry Winter Davis became one of the most prominent figures in national politics when in February, 1861, President Buchanan being still in office, he denounced the administration and demanded the use of any amount of force necessary to preserve "the unity of territory we have labored through three generations and spent millions to create and establish." This argument and others related to it, as he summarized them, were decisive against the idea of allowing the "erring sisters" to go in peace. The stand thus taken by Mr. Davis was maintained throughout the war. He reported the first "plan of reconstruction," proposed by the Republicans in 1864, and in his speech on that occasion summarized in a few sentences more clearly perhaps than they are presented elsewhere, the constitutional difficulties which were overcome in adopting the "Civil War amendments." He was born at Annapolis, August 16th, 1817, and died at Baltimore, December 30th, 1865. His biographers sometimes represent that at his first election to Congress in 1854 he was already a Republican, but in 1857 he made a speech denouncing that party as sectional, and declaring the "American" party to be the only really national party in existence. In 1859, when he voted for the Republican candidate for Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Maryland legislature adopted resolutions declaring that he had forfeited the confidence of the people. He replied in a speech on the floor of the House that the Maryland legislature could take their message back to their masters, for only to their masters the people was he responsible. He was re-elected to the House of Representatives as a Republican in 1862 and served until his death.

REASONS FOR REFUSING TO PART COMPANY WITH THE SOUTH

(From a Speech on the State of the Union, Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 7th, 1861)

Mr. Speaker:—

WE ARE at the end of the insane revel of partisan license, which, for thirty years, has, in the United States, worn the mask of government. We are about to close the masquerade by the dance of death. The nations of the world look anxiously to see if the people, ere they tread that measure, will come to themselves.

Yet in the early youth of our national life we are already exhausted by premature excesses. The corruption of our political maxims has relaxed the tone of public morals and degraded the public authorities from the terror to the accomplices of evil-doers. Platforms for fools — plunder for thieves — offices for service — power for ambition — unity in these essentials — diversity in the immaterial matters of policy and legislation — charity for every frailty — the voice of the people is the voice of God — these maxims have sunk into the public mind, have presided at the administration of public affairs, have almost effaced the very idea of public duty. The Government under their disastrous influence has gradually ceased to fertilize the fields of domestic and useful legislation, and pours itself, like an impetuous torrent, along the barren ravine of party and sectional strife. It has been shorn of every prerogative that wore the austere aspect of authority and power.

The President, no longer preceded by the fasces and the ax, — the emblems of supreme authority, — greets every popular clamor with wreathed smiles and gracious condescension, is degraded to preside in the palace of the nation over the distribution of spoils among wrangling victors, dedicates his great powers to forge or find arms to perpetuate partisan warfare at the expense of the public peace. The original ideas of the Constitution have faded from men's minds. That the United States is a government entitled to respect and command; that the Constitution furnishes a remedy for every grievance and a mode of redress for every wrong; that the States are limited within their spheres, are charged with no duties to each other, and bear no relation to the other States excepting through their common

head, the Government of the United States; that those in authority alone are charged with power to repress public disorder, and compose the public discontents, restrain the conduct of the people and of the States within the barriers of the Constitution — these salutary principles have faded from the popular heart with the great interests which the Government is charged to protect, and has gradually allowed to escape from its grasp. Congress has ceased to regulate commerce, to protect domestic industry, to encourage our commercial marine, to regulate the currency, to promote internal commerce by internal improvements — almost every power useful to the people in its exercise has been denied and abandoned, or so limited in its exercise as to be useless; its whole activity has been dedicated to expansion abroad and acquiring and retaining power at home, till men have forgotten that the Union is a blessing, and that they owe to the United States allegiance paramount to that to their respective States.

The consequence of this demoralization is that States, without regard to the Federal Government, assume to stand face to face and wage their own quarrels, to adjust their own difficulties, to impute to each other every wrong, to insist that individual States shall remedy every grievance, and they denounce failure to do so as cause of civil war between the States; and as if the Constitution were silent and dead, and the power of the Union utterly inadequate to keep the peace between them, unconstitutional commissioners flit from State to State, or assemble at the national capital to counsel peace or instigate war. Sir, these are the causes which lie at the bottom of the present dangers. These causes, which have rendered them possible and made them serious, must be removed before they can ever be permanently cured. They shake the fabric of our national Government. It is to this fearful demoralization of the Government and the people that we must ascribe the disastrous defections which now perplex us with the fear of change in all that constituted our greatness. The operation of the Government has been withdrawn from the great public interests, in order that competing parties might not be embarrassed in the struggle for power by diversities of opinion upon questions of policy; and the public mind, in that struggle, has been exclusively turned on the slavery question, which no interest required to be touched by any department of this Government. On that subject there are widely marked diversities of opinion and interest in the different

portions of the Confederacy, with few mediating influences to soften the collision. In the struggle for party power, the two great regions of the country have been brought face to face upon this most dangerous of all subjects of agitation. The authority of the Government was relaxed just when its power was about to be assailed; and the people, emancipated from every control, and their passions inflamed by the fierce struggle for the presidency, were the easy prey of revolutionary audacity.

Within two months after a formal, peaceful, regular election of the Chief Magistrate of the United States, in which the whole body of the people of every State competed with zeal for the prize, without any new event intervening, without any new grievances alleged, without any new menaces having been made, we have seen, in the short course of one month, a small portion of the population of six States transcend the bounds at a single leap at once of the State and the national constitutions; usurp the extraordinary prerogative of repealing the supreme law of the land; exclude the great mass of their fellow-citizens from the protection of the Constitution; declare themselves emancipated from the obligations which the Constitution pronounces to be supreme over them and over their laws; arrogate to themselves all the prerogatives of independent power; rescind the acts of cession of the public property; occupy the public offices; seize the fortresses of the United States confided to the faith of the people among whom they were placed; embezzle the public arms concentrated there for the defense of the United States; array thousands of men in arms against the United States; and actually wage war on the Union by besieging two of their fortresses and firing on a vessel bearing, under the flag of the United States, reinforcements and provisions to one of them. The very boundaries of right and wrong seem obliterated when we see a cabinet minister engaged for months in deliberately changing the distribution of public arms to places in the hands of those about to resist the public authority, so as to place within their grasp means of waging war against the United States greater than they ever used against a foreign foe; and another cabinet minister, still holding his commission under the authority of the United States, still a confidential adviser of the President, still bound by his oath to support the Constitution of the United States, himself a commissioner from his own State to another of the United States, for the purpose of organizing and extending

another part of the same great scheme of rebellion; and the doom of the Republic seems sealed when the President, surrounded by such ministers, permits, without rebuke, the Government to be betrayed, neglects the solemn warning of the first soldier of the age, till almost every fort is a prey to domestic treason, and accepts assurances of peace in his time at the expense of leaving the national honor unguarded. His message gives aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, by avowing his inability to maintain its integrity; and, paralyzed and stupefied, he stands amid the crash of the falling Republic, still muttering, "Not in my time, not in my time; after me the deluge!"

Sir, history, by her prophet Tacitus, has drawn his character for posterity — *Major privato visus dum privatus fuit, et consensu omnium capax imperii nisi imperasset.* Yes, sir, "*nisi imperasset*" James Buchanan might have passed to the grave as one of the men of the Republic equal to every station he filled and not incompetent for the highest. The acquisition of supreme power has revealed his incapacity and crowns him with the unenviable honor of the chief destroyer of his country's greatness.

We have, Mr. Speaker, this day to deal, in a great measure, with the consequences of his incapacity. Persons usurping power in six or seven States have thrown off their allegiance to the United States. It was fondly hoped that it was only temporary, possibly a desperate contrivance to restore the chief actors to power; but we are now authoritatively informed, by the response of South Carolina to the kindly messenger from Virginia, that their position is permanently fixed; that they desire to have, and will have, no further political connection with the United States; and a distinguished gentleman, until within one month a member of the Senate of the United States, recently elected president of the revolutionary convention at Montgomery, has informed us in his inaugural speech that it is their purpose finally to sever their connection with the United States and to take all the consequences of organizing an independent republic.

Mr. Speaker, we are driven to one of two alternatives; we must recognize what we have been told more than once upon this floor is an accomplished fact — the independence of the rebellious States — or we must refuse to acknowledge it, and accept all the responsibilities that attach to that refusal. Recognize them! Abandon the Gulf and coast of Mexico; surrender the forts of the United States; yield the privilege of free com-

merce and free intercourse; strike down the guarantees of the Constitution for our fellow-citizens in all that wide region; create a thousand miles of interior frontier to be furnished with internal customhouses, and armed with internal forts, themselves to be a prey to the next caprice of State sovereignty; organize a vast standing army, ready at a moment's warning to resist aggression; create upon our southern boundary a perpetual foothold for foreign powers, whenever caprice, ambition, or hostility may see fit to invite the despot of France or the aggressive power of England to attack us upon our undefended frontier; sever that unity of territory which we have spent millions, and labored through three generations, to create and establish; pull down the flag of the United States and take a lower station among the nations of the earth; abandon the high prerogative of leading the march of freedom, the hope of struggling nationalities, the terror of frowning tyrants, the boast of the world, the light of liberty — to become the sport and prey of despots whose thrones we consolidate by our fall — to be greeted by Mexico with the salutation: "Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us?" This is recognition.

Refuse to recognize! We must not coerce a State in the peaceful process of secession. We must not coerce a State engaged in the peaceful process of firing into a United States vessel, to prevent the reinforcement of a United States fort. We must not coerce States which, without any declaration of war, or any act of hostility of any kind, have united, as have Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana, their joint forces to seize a public fortress. We must not coerce a State which has planted cannon upon its shores to prevent the free navigation of the Mississippi. We must not coerce a State which has robbed the United States Treasury. This is peaceful secession!

Mr. Speaker, I do not design to quarrel with gentlemen about words. I do not wish to say one word which will exasperate the already too much inflamed state of the public mind; but I say that the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof must be enforced; and they who stand across the path of that enforcement must either destroy the power of the United States or it will destroy them.

CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTIES OF RECONSTRUCTION

(From a Speech in the House of Representatives, March 22d, 1864)

Mr. Speaker: —

THE bill which I am directed by the committee on the rebellious States to report is one which provides for the restoration of civil government in States whose governments have been overthrown. It prescribes such conditions as will secure not only civil government to the people of the rebellious States, but will also secure to the people of the United States permanent peace after the suppression of the rebellion. The bill challenges the support of all who consider slavery the cause of the rebellion. . . . When military opposition shall have been suppressed, not merely paralyzed, driven into a corner, pushed back, but gone, the horrid vision of civil war vanished from the South, then call upon the people to reorganize in their own way, subject to the conditions that we think essential to our permanent peace, and to prevent the revival hereafter of the rebellion — a republican government in the form that the people of the United States can agree to.

Now, for that purpose there are three modes indicated. One is to remove the cause of the war by an alteration of the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting slavery everywhere within its limits. That, sir, goes to the root of the matter, and should consecrate the nation's triumph. But there are thirty-four States; three-fourths of them would be twenty-six. I believe there are twenty-five States represented in this Congress; so that we on that basis cannot change the Constitution. It is, therefore, a condition precedent in that view of the case that more States shall have governments organized within them. . . .

The next plan is that inaugurated by the President of the United States in the proclamation of the eighth of December, called the Amnesty Proclamation. That proposes no guardianship of the United States over the reorganization of the governments, no law to prescribe who shall vote, no civil functionaries to see that the law is faithfully executed, no supervising authority to control and judge of the election. But if in any manner by the toleration of martial law, lately proclaimed the fundamental law, under the dictation of any military authority, or under the prescription of a provost marshal, something in the form of a

government shall be presented, represented to rest on the votes of one-tenth of the population, the President will recognize that, provided it does not contravene the proclamation of freedom and the laws of Congress; and to secure that an oath is exacted. There is no guaranty of law to watch over the organization of that government. It may be recognized by the military power, and not recognized by the civil power, so that it would have a doubtful existence, half civil and half military, neither a temporary government by law of Congress nor a State government, something as unknown to the Constitution as the rebel government that refuses to recognize it. The only prescription is that it shall not contravene the provisions of the proclamation. Sir, if that proclamation be valid, then we are relieved from all trouble on that score. But if that proclamation be not valid, then the oath to support it is without legal sanction, for the President can ask no man to bind himself by an oath to support an unfounded proclamation or an unconstitutional law even for a moment, still less after it shall have been declared void by the Supreme Court of the United States.

By the bill we propose to preclude the judicial question by the solution of a political question. How so? By the paramount power of Congress to reorganize governments in those States, to impose such conditions as it thinks necessary to secure the permanence of republican government, to refuse to recognize any governments there which do not prohibit slavery forever. Aye, gentlemen, take the responsibility to say in the face of those who clamor for the speedy recognition of governments tolerating slavery, that the safety of the people of the United States is the supreme law; that their will is the supreme rule of law, and that we are authorized to pronounce their will on this subject. They take the responsibility to say that we will revise the judgments of our ancestors; that we have experience written in blood which they had not; that we find now what they darkly doubted, that slavery is really radically inconsistent with the permanence of republican governments; and that being charged by the supreme law of the land on our conscience and judgment to guarantee, that is to continue, maintain, and enforce, if it exist, to institute and restore, when overthrown, republican government throughout the broad limits of the Republic, we will weed out every element of their policy which we think incompatible with its permanence and endurance. The purpose of the bill is to preclude the judicial

question of the validity and effect of the President's proclamation by the decision of the political authority in reorganizing the State governments. It makes the rule of decision the provisions of the State constitution, which, when recognized by Congress, can be questioned in no court; and it adds to the authority of the proclamation the sanction of Congress. If gentlemen say that the Constitution does not bear that construction, we will go before the people of the United States on that question, and by their judgment we will abide.

JEFFERSON DAVIS

(1808–1889)

As a speaker, Jefferson Davis has a military directness of style in keeping with the West Point education which seems to have influenced his character more radically than any other single factor in its formation. He never hesitates for words to express his ideas, nor does he delay their flow to seek for ornament. His farewell to the Senate in 1861 and his inaugural as President of the Southern Confederacy have an unadorned simplicity which shows his consciousness of the importance of both occasions and his determination not to allow superfluous trope or forced metaphor to compromise him in the eyes of posterity. His speech against Clay in 1850, though less studied in its severity, shows the same characteristics. In less than half a dozen lines in this speech, Mr. Davis announced the end of the era of compromise and put himself at the head of those at the South who were in favor of meeting sectional issues without further postponement.

He was born in Christian County, Kentucky, June 3d, 1808. His family which removed to Mississippi in his infancy, sent him back to Transylvania University in Kentucky to be educated, but transferred him from it to West Point, where he graduated in 1828. From his graduation until 1835, he served in the Regular Army, resigning as a lieutenant of dragoons in that year to begin life on a plantation in Mississippi. He was active in the politics of his State from the period of his resignation from the army until the organization of the Confederacy. Elected to Congress in 1844, he resigned to take part in the Mexican War. Wounded at the battle of Buena Vista where he greatly distinguished himself, he was sent, while still on crutches, to represent Mississippi in the Senate. Serving in the Senate from 1847 to 1851, he was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Pierce from 1853 to 1857, and United States Senator a second time from 1857 to 1861. When he left the Senate after the secession of Mississippi, he was chosen President of the Confederacy without effort on his part to secure the place. Indeed, his severe ideas of personal dignity would never have allowed him to intrigue for any office. After the collapse of the Confederacy, he was confined for two years in Fortress Monroe, but was released without being brought to trial on the indictment for treason which

had been found against him. He died in New Orleans, December 6th, 1889. At the South the idea that he was individually or distinctively responsible for the Civil War, or for the action taken by the Southern States, has never gained acceptance. He has been regarded merely as a representative man, one of many such, obeying in public life the will of his constituency as far as it accorded with his own sense of propriety. This was his own theory of his position in history. From 1850 to 1860 in public and private he repeatedly asserted his devotion to the Union, coupling such assertions with warnings of the growing excitement among his constituents and with repeated enunciations of his determination to be governed by their will and their interests as a consideration paramount to all others. At the South from 1861 to 1865, he was often and hotly attacked, but from the surrender at Appomattox until his death, his friends and his enemies among ex-Confederates accepted him as the historical representative of the "Lost Cause" and defended him against all attack. While he lacked the faculty of inspiring the enthusiastic devotion which was a spontaneous tribute to such leaders as Robert E. Lee, he had the high regard of all who knew him intimately and the respect of all who sympathized with his views. Mr. Reagan, of Texas, a member of his Cabinet, called him "the most devout Christian I ever knew and the most self-sacrificing of men." W. V. B.

ANNOUNCING THE SECESSION OF MISSISSIPPI

(Delivered on Retiring from the United States Senate, January 21st, 1861)

I RISE, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce that fact to my associates, and I will say but very little more. The occasion does not invite me to go into argument, and my physical condition would not permit me to do so if it were otherwise; and yet it seems to become me to say something on the part of the State I here represent, on an occasion so solemn as this.

It is known to Senators who have served with me here that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of

State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause; if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the Government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counseled them then that if the state of things which they apprehended should exist when the convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard its constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and secession, so often confounded, are indeed antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union, and against the agent of the States. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his constitutional obligation, and a State, assuming to judge for itself, denies the right of the agent thus to act, and appeals to the other States of the Union for a decision; but when the States themselves, and when the people of the States have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

A great man who now reposes with his fathers, and who has been often arraigned for a want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of Nullification, because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union, his determination to find some remedy for existing ills short of a severance of the ties which bound South Carolina to the other States, that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of Nullification, which he proclaimed to be peaceful, to be within the limits of State power, not to disturb the Union, but only to be a means of bringing the agent before the tribunal of the States for their judgment.

Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again,

when a better comprehension of the theory of our Government and the inalienable rights of the people of the States will prevent any one from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

I therefore say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and I should have been bound by their action if my belief had been otherwise; and this brings me to the important point which I wish on this last occasion to present to the Senate. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of a great man, whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been invoked to justify coercion against a seceded State. The phrase, "to execute the laws," was an expression which General Jackson applied to the case of a State refusing to obey the laws while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States, and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation to any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms, at least it is a great misapprehension of the case, which cites that expression for application to a State which has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign State. If it be the purpose of gentlemen, they may make war against a State which has withdrawn from the Union; but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. A State finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is, in which her safety requires that she should provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union, surrenders all the benefits (and they are known to be many), deprives herself of the advantages (they are known to be great), severs all the ties of affection (and they are close and enduring), which have bound her to the Union; and thus divesting herself of every benefit, taking upon herself every burden, she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits.

I well remember an occasion when Massachusetts was arraigned before the bar of the Senate, and when then the doctrine of coercion was rife and to be applied against her because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. My opinion then was the same that it is now. Not in a spirit of egotism, but to show that I am not influenced in my opinion because the case is my

own, I refer to that time and that occasion as containing the opinion which I then entertained, and on which my present conduct is based. I then said, if Massachusetts, following her through a stated line of conduct, chooses to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her back; but will say to her, God speed, in memory of the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States.

It has been a conviction of pressing necessity, it has been a belief that we are to be deprived in the Union of the rights which our fathers bequeathed to us, which has brought Mississippi into her present decision. She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis of an attack upon her social institutions; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races. That Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were declaring their independence; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born — to use the language of Mr. Jefferson — booted and spurred to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal — meaning the men of the political community; that there was no divine right to rule; that no man inherited the right to govern; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families, but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body politic. These were the great principles they announced; these were the purposes for which they made their declaration; these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else, how happened it that among the items of arraignment made against George III. was that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do — to stir up insurrection among our slaves? Had the Declaration announced that the negroes were free and equal, how was the Prince to be arraigned for stirring up insurrection among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the colonies to sever their connection with the mother country? When our Constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable, for there we find provision made for that very class of persons as property; they were not put upon the footing of equality with white men — not even

upon that of paupers and convicts; but, so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste, only to be represented in the numerical proportion of three-fifths.

Then, Senators, we recur to the compact which binds us together; we recur to the principles upon which our Government was founded; and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from a Government which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive of our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence, and take the hazard. This is done not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit, but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and which it is our sacred duty to transmit unshorn to our children.

I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards yours. I am sure I feel no hostility to you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such I am sure is the feeling of the people whom I represent towards those whom you represent. I therefore feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God and in our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.

In the course of my service here, associated at different times with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long; there have been points of collision, but whatever of offense there has been to me, I leave here; I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offense I have given which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which in heat of discussion I have inflicted. I go hence unencumbered of the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the

duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered.

Mr. President and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you a final adieu.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF 1861

(Delivered at Montgomery, Alabama, Monday, February 18th, 1861)

Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, Friends and Fellow-Citizens:—

CALLED to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the provisional government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned to me with a humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people.

Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent government to take the place of this, and which, by its greater moral and physical power, will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office to which I have been chosen with the hope that the beginning of our career, as a Confederacy, may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and, with the blessing of Providence, intend to maintain. Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established.

The declared purpose of the compact of union from which we have withdrawn was "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"; and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this Confederacy it had been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and had ceased to answer

the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot box declared that so far as they were concerned, the Government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 had defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion for its exercise, they as sovereigns were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and he, who knows the hearts of men, will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit. The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the bills of rights of States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States, here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy, and it is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated a revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained, and the rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent, through whom they communicated with foreign nations, is changed; but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations.

Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of just obligations, or any failure to perform any constitutional duty; moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others; anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will aquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defense which honor and security may require.

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest, and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and

any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the north-eastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that a mutual interest would invite good-will and kind offices. If, however, passion or the lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and to maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. Through many years of controversy with our late associates, the Northern States, we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and to obtain respect for the rights to which we are entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled; but if this be denied to us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms and invoke the blessings of Providence on a just cause.

As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide for the speedy and efficient organization of branches of the Executive Department, having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and the postal service.

For purposes of defense, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon the militia; but it is deemed advisable in the present condition of affairs that there should be a well-instructed and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have doubtless engaged the attention of Congress.

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from the sectional conflicts which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that States from which we have recently parted may seek to unite their fortunes with ours under the Government which we have

instituted. For this your Constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not the judgment and will of the people, a re-union with the States from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the Confederacy, it is requisite that there should be so much homogeneity that the welfare of every portion shall be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by the desire to preserve our own rights and promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check; the cultivation of our fields has progressed as heretofore; and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, and in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of the producer and consumer can only be interrupted by an exterior force, which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets — a course of conduct which would be as unjust towards us as it would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad. Should reason guide the action of the Government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even the strongest desire to inflict injury upon us; but if otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime, there will remain to us, besides the ordinary means before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of the enemy.

Experience in public stations of subordinate grades to this which your kindness has conferred has taught me that care and toil and disappointment are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate, but you shall not find in me either a want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction — one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patri-

otism I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duty required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts but not the system of our Government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States in their exposition of it; and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning.

Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of the instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectations, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good-will and confidence which welcomed my entrance into office.

It is joyous, in the midst of perilous times, to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole — where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor and right and liberty and equality. Obstacles may retard — they cannot long prevent — the progress of a movement sanctified by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which, by his blessing, they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity; and with a continuance of his favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity.

AGAINST CLAY AND COMPROMISE

(From a Speech Delivered in the Senate, February 14th, 1850, "The Senate Having in Committee of the Whole the Resolutions Submitted by Mr. Clay" on the Admission of California)

IF, SIR, the spirit of sectional aggrandizement, or, if gentlemen prefer, this love they bear the African race, shall cause the disunion of these States, the last chapter of our history will be a sad commentary upon the justice and the wisdom of our people. That this Union, replete with blessings to its own citizens and diffusive of hope to the rest of mankind, should fall a victim to a selfish aggrandizement and a pseudo philanthropy,

prompting one portion of the Union to war upon the domestic rights and peace of another, would be a deep reflection on the good sense and patriotism of our day and generation. But, sir, if this last chapter in our history shall ever be written, the reflective reader will ask, Whence proceeded this hostility of the North against the South? He will find it there recorded that the South, in opposition to her own immediate interests, engaged with the North in the unequal struggle of the Revolution. He will find again that when Northern seamen were impressed, their brethren of the South considered it cause for war, and entered warmly into the contest with the haughty power then claiming to be mistress of the seas. He will find that the South, afar off, unseen and unheard, toiling in the pursuits of agriculture, had filled the shipping, and supplied the staple for manufactures, which enriched the North. He will find that she was the great consumer of Northern fabrics — that she not only paid for these their fair value in the markets of the world, but that she also paid their increased value, derived from the imposition of revenue duties. And if, still further, he seek for the cause of this hostility, it at last is to be found in the fact that the South held the African race in bondage, being the descendants of those who were mainly purchased from the people of the North. And this was the great cause. For this the North claimed that the South should be restricted from future growth — that around her should be drawn, as it were, a sanitary cordon to prevent the extension of a moral leprosy; and if for that it shall be written the South resisted, it would be but in keeping with every page she has added to the history of our country.

It depends on those in the majority to say whether this last chapter in our history shall be written or not. It depends on them now to decide whether the strife between the different sections shall be arrested before it has become impossible, or whether it shall proceed to a final catastrophe. I, sir — and I speak only for myself — am willing to meet any fair proposition; to settle upon anything which promises security for the future; anything which assures me of permanent peace; and I am willing to make whatever sacrifice I may properly be called on to render for that purpose. Nor, sir, is it a light responsibility. If I strictly measured my conduct by the late message of the Governor and the recent expressions of opinion in my State, I should have no power to accept any terms save the unqualified admission of the

equal rights of the citizens of the South to go into any of the Territories of the United States with any and every species of property held among us. I am willing, however, to take my share of the responsibility which the crisis of our country demands. I am willing to rely on the known love of the people I represent for the whole country and the abiding respect which I know they entertain for the Union of these States. If, sir, I distrusted their attachment to our Government, and if I believed they had that restless spirit of disunion which has been ascribed to the South, I should know full well that I had no such foundation as this to rely upon — no such great reserve in the heart of the people to fall back upon in the hour of accountability.

Mr. President, is there such incompatibility of interest between the two sections of this country that they cannot profitably live together? Does the agriculture of the South injure the manufactures of the North? On the other hand, are they not their life-blood? And think you if one portion of the Union, however great it might be in commerce and manufactures, were separated from all the agricultural districts, that it would long maintain its supremacy? If any one so believes, let him turn to the written history of commercial States; let him look upon the moldering palaces of Venice; let him ask for the faded purple of Tyre, and visit the ruins of Carthage; there he will see written the fate of every country which rests its prosperity on commerce and manufactures alone. United we have grown to our present dignity and power — united we may go on to a destiny which the human mind cannot measure. Separated, I feel that it requires no prophetic eye to see that the portion of the country which is now scattering the seeds of disunion to which I have referred, will be that which will suffer most. Grass will grow on the pavements now worn by the constant tread of the human throng which waits on commerce, and the shipping will abandon your ports for those which now furnish the staples of trade. And we who produce the great staple upon which your commerce and manufactures rest, will produce those staples still; shipping will fill our harbor; and why may we not found the Tyre of modern commerce within our own limits? Why may we not bring the manufacturers to the side of agriculture, and commerce, too, the ready servant of both?

But, sir, I have no disposition to follow this subject. I certainly can derive no pleasure from the contemplation of anything

which can impair the prosperity of any portion of this Union; and I only refer to it that those who suppose we are tied by interest or fear should look the question in the face, and understand that it is mainly a feeling of attachment to the Union which has long bound, and now binds the South. But, Mr. President, I ask Senators to consider how long affection can be proof against such trial and injury and provocation as the South is continually receiving.

The case in which this discrimination against the South is attempted, the circumstances under which it was introduced, render it especially offensive. It will not be difficult to imagine the feeling with which a Southern soldier during the Mexican War received the announcement that the House of Representatives had passed that odious measure, the Wilmot Proviso; and that he, although then periling his life, abandoning all the comforts of home, and sacrificing his interests, was, by the legislature of his country, marked as coming from a portion of the Union which was not entitled to the equal benefits of whatever might result from the service to which he was contributing whatever power he possessed. Nor will it be difficult to conceive of the many sons of the South whose blood has stained those battle-fields, whose ashes now mingle with Mexican earth, that some, when they last looked on the flag of their country, may have felt their dying moments embittered by the recollection that that flag cast not an equal shadow of protection over the land of their birth, the graves of their parents, and the homes of their children so soon to be orphans. Sir, I ask Northern Senators to make the case their own — to carry to their own fireside the idea of such intrusion and offensive discrimination as is offered to us — realize these irritations, so galling to the humble, so intolerable to the haughty, and wake before it is too late, from the dream that the South will tamely submit. Measure the consequences to us of your assumption, and ask yourselves whether, as a free, honorable, and brave people, you would submit to it.

It is essentially the characteristic of the chivalrous that they never speculate upon the fears of any man, and I trust that no such speculations will be made upon the idea that may be entertained in any quarter that the South, from fear of her slaves, is necessarily opposed to a dissolution of this Union. She has no such fear; her slaves would be to her now, as they were in the Revolution, an element of military strength. I trust that no

speculations will be made upon either the condition or the supposed weakness of the South. They will bring sad disappointments to those who indulge them. Rely upon her devotion to the Union, rely upon the feeling of fraternity she inherited and has never failed to manifest; rely upon the nationality and freedom from sedition which has in all ages characterized an agricultural people; give her justice, sheer justice, and the reliance will never fail you.

Then, Mr. President, I ask that some substantial proposition may be made by the majority in regard to this question. It is for those who have the power to pass it to propose one. It is for those who are threatening us with the loss of that which we are entitled to enjoy to state, if there be any compromise, what that compromise is. We are unable to pass any measure, if we propose it; therefore, I have none to suggest. We are unable to bend you to any terms which we may offer; we are under the ban of your purpose; therefore, from you, if from anywhere, the proposition must come. I trust that we shall meet it and bear the responsibility as becomes us; that we shall not seek to escape from it; that we shall not seek to transfer to other places, or other times, or other persons, that responsibility which devolves upon us; and I hope the earnestness which the occasion justifies will not be mistaken for the ebullition of passion, nor the language of warning be construed as a threat. We cannot, without the most humiliating confession of the supremacy of faction, evade our constitutional obligations, and our obligations under the treaty with Mexico, to organize governments in the Territories of California and New Mexico. I trust that we will not seek to escape from the responsibility, and leave the country unprovided for unless by an irregular admission of new States; that we will act upon the good example of Washington in the case of Tennessee, and of Jefferson in the case of Louisiana; that we will not, if we abandon those high standards, do more than come down to modern examples — that we will not go further than to permit those who have the forms of government under the Constitution to assume sovereignty over territory of the United States; that we may at least, I say, assert the right to know who they are, how many they are, where they voted, how they voted, and whose certificate is presented to us of the fact before it is conceded to them to determine the fundamental law of the country and to prescribe the conditions on which

other citizens of the United States may enter it. To reach all this knowledge, we must go through the intermediate stage of territorial government.

How will you determine what is the seal, and who are the officers of a community unknown as an organized body to the Congress of the United States? Can the right be admitted in that community to usurp the sovereignty over territory which belongs to the States of the Union? All these questions must be answered before I can consent to any such irregular proceeding as that which is now presented in the case of California.

Mr. President, thanking the Senate for the patience they have shown towards me, I again express the hope that those who have the power to settle this distracting question — those who have the ability to restore peace, concord, and lasting harmony to the United States — will give us some substantial proposition, such as magnanimity can offer, and such as we can honorably accept. I, being one of the minority in the Senate and the Union, have nothing to offer, except an assurance of co-operation in anything which my principles will allow me to adopt, and which promises permanent substantial security.

MICHAEL DAVITT

(1846–)

MICHAEL DAVITT has been one of the most forceful men of his generation, made so by the intensity of his hatred of oppression. He was born in the village of Straide, County Mayo, Ireland, in 1846. His father belonged to the humblest class of Irish tenant-farmers and Michael's career was determined by the eviction of the family from their holding. This forced them to emigrate to England where Michael, while still a boy, lost his arm in a Lancashire cotton factory. As he could not support himself by manual labor, his family managed to give him the rudiments of an education — for a mind like his, enough to serve as the key to all knowledge. He went from school to a printing office, and in 1866 began in the Fenian movement the career which has made him celebrated all over the English-speaking world. He has been without doubt the most effective Irish Nationalist of his generation and has paid for his effectiveness by undergoing repeated imprisonment. One of his convictions was for "treason-felony," and he served over seven years of the fifteen-year sentence through which it was sought to silence his eloquent protests against abuses.

IRELAND A NATION, SELF-CHARTERED AND SELF-RULED

(From the Address in Mechanics' Hall, Boston, December 8th, 1878)

WHEN we appeal to mankind for the justice of our cause, we must assume the attitude of a united, because an earnest, people, and show reason why we refuse to accept our political annihilation. We can only do this by the thoroughness of purpose which should actuate, and the systematic exertions which alone can justify, us in claiming the recognition due to a country which has never once acquiesced in its subjugation, nor abandoned its resolve to be free. Viewing that country then, as she presents herself to-day, the problem of her redemption may be put in this formula: Given the present social and political condition of Ireland, with the spirit, national tendencies, physical

and moral forces of her people — together with the power, influence, and policy arrayed against them — to indicate what should be the plans pursued, and action adopted, whereby the condition of our people could be materially improved, in efforts tending to raise them to their rightful position as a Nation.

I confess to the difficulty of solving such a problem, but not so much as to the putting it into practice if theoretically demonstrated; but —

> "Right endeavor's not in vain —
> Its reward is in the doing;
> And the rapture of pursuing,
> Is the prize the vanquished gain."

Let us see if we can discover a key to the difficulty of the Irish question. I will assume that there are certain matters or contingencies important to or affecting the Irish race which are of equal interest to its people (irrespective of what differences of opinion there may be amongst them on various other concerns), — such as the preservation of the distinctive individuality of the race itself among peoples; the earning for it that respect and prestige to which it is by right and inheritance entitled, by striving for its improvement, physically and morally, and its intellectual and social advancement, revival of its ancient language, etc.; and that there are past occurrences and sectional animosities which all classes must reasonably desire to prevent in future, for the honor and welfare of themselves and country, — such as religious feuds and provincial antipathies. I will also assume that the raising of our peasant population from the depths of social misery to which it has been sunk by an unjust land system would meet with the approval of most classes in Ireland, and receive the moral co-operation of Irishmen abroad, as would also the improvement of the dwellings of our agricultural population, which project, I also assume, would be accepted and supported by all parties in Irish political life. Without particularizing any further measures for the common good of our people, for which political parties cannot refuse to mutually co-operate, if consistent with their *raison d'être* as striving for their country's welfare, I think it will be granted that Nationalists (pronounced or quiescent), Obstructionists, Home Rulers, Repealers, and others, could unite in obtaining the reforms already enumerated by concerted action on and by whatever means the present existing state of

affairs in Ireland can place within their reach. Such concerted action for the general good would necessitate a centripetal platform, as representing that central principle or motive which constitutes the hold and supplies the influence that a country's government has upon the people governed.

A race of people, to preserve itself from destruction by a hostile race, or by partisan spirit and factious strife internally, or absorption by a people among which it may be scattered, absolutely requires some central idea, principle, or platform of motives of action, by which to exercise its national or race individuality and strength, with a view to its improvement and preservation. A people's own established government supplies this need, of course, but where, as in Ireland, there is no government of or by the people, and the dominant power is but a strong executive faction, the national strength is wasted: 1. By the *divide et impera* policy of that dominant English faction; 2. By desperate attempts to overthrow that power; and 3. By hitherto fruitless agitation to win a just rule, or force remedial legislation from an alien assembly by means repugnant to the pride of the largest portion of our people; while here, in this great shelterland of peoples, the Irish race itself is fast disappearing in the composite American. If, therefore, a platform be put forth embodying resistance to every hostile element pitted, or adverse influence at work, against the individuality of Ireland and its people, and a program of national labor for the general welfare of our country be adopted, resting upon those wants and desires which have a first claim upon the consideration of Irishmen — such a platform, if put forth, not to suit a particular party, but to embrace all that is earnest and desirous among our people for labor in the vineyard of Ireland's common good, a great national desire would be gratified, and an immense stride be taken towards the goal of each Irishman's hopes. . . .

It is showing a strange want of knowledge of England's hatred and jealousy of Ireland to suppose that a government formed from any of the English parties would ever concede all that could satisfy the desires of the Irish people; and to ground an apprehension upon such an improbable contingency is a mistake.

Again, the supposition that the spirit of Irish nationality, which has combated against destruction for seven centuries, only awaits a few concessions from its baffled enemy to be snuffed out

thereby, does not speak highly for those who hold that opinion of its frailty. In my opinion, we may expect to hear no more of "the cause" when the genius of Tipperary shall carve the Rock of Cashel into a statue of Judge Keogh, and Croagh Patrick shall walk to London to render homage to the Duke of Connaught. Every chapter of our history, every ensanguined field upon which our forefathers died in defense of that cause, every name in the martyrology of Ireland, from Fitzgerald to Charles McCarthy, proclaim the truth of Meagher's impassioned words: "From the Irish mind the inspiring thought that there once was an Irish nation self-chartered and self-ruled can never be effaced; the burning hope that there will be one again can never be extinguished."

With these convictions, and the consummation of such hopes predestined by an indestructible cause and imperishable national principles, Irish Nationalists can, without fear of compromising such principles, grapple with West-Britonism on its own ground, and strangle its efforts to imperialize Ireland. The popular party in Ireland has a right to participate in everything concerning the social and political condition of the country; to compete with the constitutional and other parties who cater for public support, and stamp in this manner its Nationalist convictions and principles upon everything Irish, from a local board of poor-law guardians to a (by circumstances compulsory) representation in an alien parliament.

No party has a right to call itself National which neglects resorting to each and every justifiable means to end the frightful misery under which our land-crushed people groan. It is exhibiting a callous indifference to the state of social degradation to which the power of the landlords of Ireland has sunk our peasantry to ask them to "plod on in sluggish misery from sire to son, from age to age," until we, by force of party and party selfishness, shall free the country. It is playing the part of the Levite who passed by the man plundered by thieves. It is seeing a helpless creature struggling against suffocation in a ditch, and making no immediate effort to save him. If we refuse to play the part of the Good Samaritan to those who have fallen among robber landlords, other Irishmen will not. The cry has gone forth, "Down with the land system that has cursed and depopulated Ireland"; and this slogan cry of war has come from the Constitutionalists.

In the name of the common good of our country, its honor, interests, social and political, let the two great Irish parties agree to differ on party principles, while emulating each other in service to our impoverished people. Let each endeavor to find points upon which they can agree, instead of trying to discover quibbles whereon to differ. Let a centre platform be adopted, resting on a broad, generous, and comprehensive Nationalism, which will invite every earnest Irishman upon it. The manhood strength of Ireland could then become an irresistible power, standing ready at its post, while the whole Irish race, rallying to the support of such a platform, would cry: —

"We want the land that bore us!
We'll make that want our chorus;
And we'll have it yet, tho' hard to get
By the heavens bending o'er us."

HENRY LAURENS DAWES

(1816–)

HENRY LAURENS DAWES represented a Massachusetts district in the House of Representatives from 1857 to 1875. From 1875 to 1893 he was United States Senator from Massachusetts. He supported the policies of the Republican party from its organization, but immediately after the war it was believed for a time that he would take a determined stand against giving the ballot at once to the newly emancipated slaves. This expectation was not realized. During the Reconstruction period and the decade following, the Democratic party strongly insisted on a revision of the "War Tariff," and as there was a theory among economists regardless of party that the protection given by tariff taxes should be equal to the difference in cost of raw material and labor cost, the result was the Tariff Commission, supported by Mr. Dawes in 1880. He was born at Cummington, Massachusetts, October 13th, 1816.

THE TARIFF COMMISSION OF 1880

(Delivered in the Senate, May 10th, 1880, on the Bill to Provide for a Tariff Commission)

Mr. President:—

I AM in favor of the bill reported by the Committee on Finance because I am in favor of a revision and reform of the tariff. Great inconsistencies and incongruities exist in the tariff. A great many excessive duties remain upon the statute-book. Many dutiable articles should be on the free list, and many of the provisions of the tariff have become obsolete and inoperative. The present is a favorable time for such a revision. The increased prosperity of the country and of all business in it has so increased the receipts of the Government, both from sources of internal revenue and from customs duties, as to render such a revision desirable and possible, keeping in view first the primary object of the imposition of duties, a revenue for the maintenance of the Government, and keeping that revenue as near as possible to its current and necessary expenses. There is an opportunity

to revise and reform not only the duties but the methods of enforcing the law and collecting them. Some of the circumstances justifying this course have sprung up without any reference to legislation. Changes in business, changes in the relations of industries to each other as well as changes in the sources of revenue to the Government, require the Government to look now to one quarter and now to another from which little was expected or received in former times. We should conform our legislation to the changes going on all the time in the methods of business as well as in the sources of revenue. All these invoke at our hands attention to the question whether we shall permit the revenue system of the Government to remain as it is or address ourselves to the best method of producing out of it a state of things that shall answer as well the demands of the Government as the expectations and necessities and claims of those under the Government without affecting whose business pursuits it is impossible to reform the revenue laws.

If I desired the continuance of the present state of things, if I wished to perpetuate these incongruities and these excesses and these defects, I should desire that the ideas submitted on Friday last by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Beck] should prevail; for it is by the attempt to enforce just such ideas in the past that has come this condition of things. Since the tariff of 1846, before the tariff of 1846, yea, before from the time of the tariff of 1842, the effort has been made to establish a tariff system by precisely the same means as those suggested by the Senator from Kentucky. All the industries of the land affected by the imposition of duties, or by the relief of industries from their imposition, have been summoned before committees from 1842 to to-day in precisely the same manner suggested by him. They have been in a great measure also under the control of party organizations.

Sir, I am not about to discuss the comparative claim of one of the two parties to the confidence and support of the people on this question of the tariff. I am not here now to say that to the Democratic party or to the Republican party the country may most safely turn for relief or for reform. I do not think that it is a part of my duty, resulting from the conviction of an experience in this matter somewhat extended, to undertake at this time to stake the great question involved in the bill and the substitute before the Senate upon the merits of either party. Out of these contests of parties have come the evils of which we com-

plain. We have had the struggle of the one party or the other to take to itself and appropriate the work of so adjusting the tariff in this country between the Government and those affected by it as to seek and obtain from the people some support that the adversary should not be entitled to; and out of that has come the shifting from party to party of this question and these measures; and the Government on the one hand and the many industries of the country on the other have suffered in this conflict of party. It is only from the possibility now presented that the wise men of both parties can take up this question without reference to its effect upon political parties, and determine it upon its merits, that anything like permanency, built upon justice and fairness, will ever result from legislation.

A duty for the purpose of revenue must be imposed in one of two ways: indifferently, at haphazard, by blind folly; or with discrimination. I take it that neither the Senator from Kentucky nor any other Senator proposes to impose duties for revenue blindly and indiscriminately, without regard to what will be the effect either upon the revenue or upon the subject-matter upon which the duty is imposed. Then it must be imposed with discrimination. And one other question arises immediately and settles the whole matter; it must either be imposed upon the raw material or upon the manufactured article, and no man can address himself one moment to the consideration of this question, but must settle at the threshold the point whether he will impose that duty upon the raw material or upon the manufactured article.

These men represent the manufactured article who are invited before a committee of Congress, by the side of whom in the proposition of the Senator from Arkansas two or three experts are invited to take seats. They are producers in this land. According to the census of 1860 their products amounted to $1,800,000,000, and in 1870 to $4,000,000,000, an increase in value of 102 per cent. in ten years. Making all due allowance for the disturbance of prices by inflation, in actual quantity during those ten years the increase had been 52 per cent. Fifty-two per cent. more in actual quantities was produced at the end of that decade. According to that rate of increase, well-nigh eight billion dollars' worth of fabrics will have been produced and developed in the year 1880, as shown by the census. This is represented by men who must appear before this committee. This is the

production in this land consumed here, made here for our own people, under such an adjustment of duties as the Government was under the necessity of imposing, so imposed that they could be produced here rather than brought here already produced; for where the production is, there is the manufacture, there are the people whose hands fashion these fabrics; and where the people are whose hands manufacture these fabrics, there is the capital which moves the thousand busy fingers of industry, and there is the town built up by those whose time is employed in these productions; and where the town is, there is the schoolhouse and there is the Church and there is the State.

These are productions which, under a proper adjustment of the tariff, as I conceive, every Senator I apprehend would say it were better should be on this side of the Atlantic than on the other. The men who appear before these committees are citizens of the United States, part and parcel of the body politic, having all sorts of politics and political affiliations, with their thoughts turned to the productions of these industries which are required for consumption by the people of this land. They furnish employment for the people, the thousands and tens of thousands and millions of people who find employment in these establishments, fashioning for our own people the fabrics our own people consume. They are those most interested in this question. They furnish employment.

Sir, the condition of things which I have described renders a revision of the tariff not only possible, but necessary. We have arrived at that condition in production that puts it in our power to take off these large and excessive duties, for I hold that, keeping to the idea that revenue is the object and purpose in laying the duty upon the manufactured article as against the raw material, that should never rise one penny above a perfect equality with this. Put the American producer, in levying your duties, simply upon an equality with the foreign producer; make up the difference between the interest on his money, the cost of his living, and the wages he pays; just even them up and no more; lift up and not pull down; for if you desire an interchange of produce, he who can manufacture the cheapest will in the end triumph over his neighbor. On any other basis, if you maintain these industries in this land, you must cut down the pay of the laborer to a level with the pay of him with whom you compete, or you cannot compete with him.

The question is all summed up in this single aphorism: To the American laborer belongs the labor which is to be performed for Americans; whatever is to be performed for us should be done here among us. I desire for one to see an effort made to frame a revenue tariff upon this principle. See to it that the Government is supplied; take that which it is necessary to levy upon production and levy it upon manufactured articles, so distributed upon each and every article as well as you may until you bring up our own producers to a level in cost with the foreign competition, and let the raw material come in free. Sir, to that work, involving the growth and prosperity and development of this country, all men of all parties, the wisest and the most discreet and expert, ought to be invited. No one party can accomplish it. The doctrine thus developed does not exist in this or that party exclusively. It has come to be every day more and more the common sentiment and conviction of economists throughout the country.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON

(1807–1864)

IN HIS opposition to the Mexican War and to the acquisition of Mexican territory by conquest or forced sale, William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, represented a large body of Whigs in the Northern States, who deprecated agitation for the immediate abolition of slavery, but foresaw that the organization of new territory would force issues. His speeches of 1847 and 1850 are among the most important historically of the two decades. He was born at Baskingridge, New Jersey, February 17th, 1807. Educated at Princeton, he became eminent at the bar of his native State and was Associate Justice of its supreme court from 1838 to 1842. From 1842 to 1851 he represented New Jersey in the United States Senate. A Whig during this period, the dissolution of that party as a result of the slavery agitation forced him to act with the new Republican party. He was a candidate for Vice-President in 1856, and in 1861 President Lincoln appointed him Minister to France. He died at Paris, December 1st, 1864.

ARRAIGNING PRESIDENT POLK

(From a Speech on the Mexican War, January 28th, 1847)

THE annexation of Texas, and the subsequent order of the President, placing our armies on the Rio Grande (pointing your guns to rake the streets of the city of Matamoras), were the obvious and immediate causes of this war. Without such annexation and orders, it can scarcely be pretended that the remote grievances complained of could have produded war; with such annexation and orders, it can scarcely be pretended that the want of such grievances would have prevented it.

But, sir, suppose it be all true, how does it help the President in his vindication? Who gave him the right to involve his country in war for any cause? How does he possess himself of that power which the Constitution invests in Congress alone? Sir, the President has not gone far enough to make good a justification, admitting that all he says is true.

But we are told that there was just cause for war, and that it will be prosecuted to obtain peace and indemnity for expenses and the pecuniary demands of our citizens against Mexico. Sir, will any gentleman on that or this side of the Chamber tell me the effect of this very war upon the pecuniary demands referred to? Does not the declaration of war of itself cancel all treaty stipulations, all binding obligations to pay this money? Where now is the argument of those gentlemen who so stoutly resisted the payment of the claims of our citizens for French spoliations prior to 1800? The whole groundwork of that opposition was based on the *quasi* state of war between this country and France, after those claims accrued. Sir, miserable as was the condition of these claims on Mexico prior to this war, by reason of the poverty and distraction of that Government, I hold them tenfold worse now. If we cancel a treaty stipulation by war, it would be the duty of the Government to make good to the claimants their wrong. But where is the man connected with this administration who thinks of assuming the payment of these debts, now or hereafter; unless, perchance, in the result of the war we may receive them? Then, perhaps, after years of delay, after the original claimants shall have died, after speculators shall have bought up the claims, after a long and weary haggling about the amount due, some kind of half payment by the Government may be agreed upon. This, sir, if we may judge the future from the past, is about the best we can anticipate for these claimants; this, for them, will be the result, at best, of the war.

But, Mr. President, my object was to speak not so much of the origin as of the object and conduct of this war.

The President, although not the war-making, is the war-conducting power of our Government. He asks aid for an existing war. He has the means now to prosecute it in one way, and declares that he will prosecute it. He seems not to think of settling this question in reference to the original controversy — the proper boundary of Texas. Sir, I believe the President has made this war, made it without right and against right — still, he has made it; it is upon us and, as it seems to me, we have no alternative but to aid in its prosecution, or suffer our arms to be disgraced in the face of the world. If our army were this side of the Rio Grande, with my present knowledge I would not vote the President one dollar or one man; but we are

in a position where a kind of necessity controls us — a fate hurries us on blindly, we know not where. To withdraw our troops now would look like a retreat before a superior force, or a tacit acknowledgment, at least, that we could do nothing. To take up a line of extended positions within and across the Mexican territory, and hold them, would require a vast expenditure and force to be continued for an indefinite time. Sir, I know not whether we will better ourselves by its direct prosecution, but that is the recommendation of the Executive — the constitutional commander-in-chief of our armies — who is responsible for the conduct of this war, and I will sustain him, at least with all adequate supplies. But, while I do this, I shall claim the right freely, but respectfully, to express my opinions. What, then, has the President recommended? What has he done? . . .

What have we seen? The plan of campaign is accomplished. Our soldiers have crossed the far prairies; they have overrun New Mexico and California; they have occupied their towns and cities; they have gained, against odds unknown in modern warfare, two pitched battles; they have carried Monterey by storm and yet *cui bono?* Sir, the days of Quixotism have passed. I do not depreciate the value of that reputation which comes of a "well foughten field"; but nations do not, in our day, fight simply for renown. What other profit have we of this campaign? Mexico has suffered less by her defeats than we have by our victories. Our losses to hers have been as five to one. Already by battle and climate we have lost from one thousand five hundred to two thousand men! Our army expenses have been millions per month; hers, by one of her late official documents, are $368,789 only. And where is it to end? Who can see that end in the dim future? . . .

Sir, the whole secret of this miserable plan of campaign is here. It was not a campaign formed primarily to bring us peace. Peace, "an honorable peace," as they phrase it, was sought, not as an end, but as a means to an end. Acquisition was the end, peace but the means to attain it. I have regretted this manifestation on the part of the Executive; one wrong was scarcely accomplished, when another was begun. Through all the clouds and darkness which have covered this administration, shutting out from its view the pathway of its future, one single star has glimmered in the distance; seen, watched by it, as the star of its hope and its destiny. Sir, this is a war, not for

peace, but for California! Aye, California! and a strip of country connecting us is its grand object and end. The conduct of the administration and the documents prove this, in spite of all official disavowals. From the beginning, it has been pursued with a boldness, a shamelessness, without parallel. Heretofore, we have affected some hesitation, a little maiden coyness, about appropriating that which did not belong to us; even Texas was at first declined! Alas, sir, each sin but hardens the sinner:

ISSUES AGAINST SLAVERY FORCED BY THE MEXICAN WAR

(From a Speech Delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 22d, 1850)

Mr. President:—

THE war with Mexico has brought with it much territory and much trouble. This result was early foreseen. It was not only foreseen, but it was strongly deprecated. We now have a national estate beyond our national wants or means of enjoyment, and yet not less the subject of contention among the heirs. Some gentlemen on this side of the chamber, in anticipation of the difficulties which now surround us, never assented to the treaty by which this territory was acquired; they preferred the hazard of a continuance of the war with Mexico rather than a peace which should bring territory along with it. There were a few upon this side of the chamber, and I was of the number, who preferred, as an alternative, peace, upon the terms then offered, rather than a continuance of the war, with the chances of a larger amount of territory, further south, at its close. I do not now, Mr. President, regret my action upon that subject; it is easy to appreciate difficulties which are around us and upon us, but it is hard to say what these difficulties would have been had that war been continued by defeating the treaty, and, as a probable consequence, had the Whig party been defeated at the ensuing election. I hesitate not to believe that the conclusion of that war under the auspices of a Democratic administration would have brought with it an additional amount of territory, further south, and better appropriated to slave labor. It would have increased rather than diminished the difficulties which now surround us. But, Mr. President, the acquisition of this territory

was emphatically the act, the policy of the South. This matter, either for good or for evil, has been forced upon the North, not only against our will, but against our remonstrance and fears, ofttimes expressed in this chamber. But the territory is here, and the next step in the progress of this matter is as to the disposition which is to be made of it. That the citizens of the two sections of the Confederacy have equal rights there, no man can dispute. But that very equality of right repels the idea that the minority in interest shall have an absolute control. "Equality is equity"; but a system which shall give to the few (having a lesser interest) the control of the many is neither equality nor equity.

There is no controversy, then, in regard to the principle that our Southern friends have with us, politically and personally, equal rights in the Territories; but they are no more than equal. It is the application of this principle of equality which makes the issue between them and us. The first difficulty grows out of California. That country has accomplished what, at the last session, I did not suppose could be accomplished within so brief a space. Her condition must have been misunderstood or misrepresented. There have been, it would seem, but few, comparatively, of her population engaged during the past season in the mines and washings. Others have met in convention and formed a constitution which her people have adopted. They have appointed Senators and elected Representatives in the usual forms; and they are now here asking admission for California as one of the States of the Union. The question then occurs, Why shall not the request be granted? California was not at the last session a State, and that, though not the whole, was a principal objection to her admission then. That she is now a State *de facto* no man can dispute. But, sir, they have incorporated, it seems, an antislavery clause in their State constitution. This, however, I understand distinctly from our friends of the South is, to their minds, no objection to the admission of California into the Union. I understand that they stand now, as they ever have, upon the principle of nonintervention; and the fact of the incorporation of this principle into the California constitution forms of itself no objection in their minds to the admission of the State into the Union. That being so, it narrows very much the ground of opposition. We get rid in this way of those sources of excitement

which have pervaded the country from North to South. The matter is thus brought to stand, not upon a question of right, or honor, or power, but as a mere question of political expediency. . . .

I hold that slavery is not a political institution of the Federal Government; that it is not an institution of this Government at all; it does not exist through or by its action; it has no control over it in the States to save or abolish it; and that consequently the Constitution of the Federal Government cannot carry it where it had not a prior existence. These questions I have argued before. My opinions are on record, and I do not intend to repeat them now.

Mr. President, I concur in the sentiment which has been expressed, that it is time the North and South should understand each other upon these questions. I desire, therefore, to say that, as far as I know, the sentiment of the North in reference to the extension of slavery to free territory is settled, fixed, determined in its opposition. Its representatives here may sit in quiet while the South is tempest-tossed; while Southern feeling rolls in on us here, like foam on the crest of the billow; but, when the storm shall have passed, when its fury shall have spent itself, the North will be found just where it was in the beginning — calm, settled, determined in its opposition to the extension of slavery to free territory. That is my view of the feelings of the North. This feeling may be sought to be carried out by different persons through different means. One may be content only with a positive law passed to prohibit slavery there; another may content himself with laws of Mexico as they are; and yet another may say that God has decreed against it, and that it is useless to re-enact his decrees; but they all have the same object, the same purpose. He who used this last expression [Mr. Webster], which has been much carped at both in this chamber and by the press, used it, I presume, not in reference to the re-enactment of the moral laws of God, but of those laws which God had stamped upon the physical condition, upon the outward form of the universe, and to which the laws of man could add no sanction. But I may add, in passing, that it is not customary for human codes to re-enact God's other laws. I believe no one of us has ever seen the Ten Commandments re-enacted. Who has seen a statute saying, "Thou shalt not kill, or

steal, or bear false witness." The human law does not create, but recognizes these as crimes, and merely attaches the penalty. But this is digression. I add that, while we are opposed to the extension of slavery, we are disposed to carry out these views only in good feeling and in what we believe to be the spirit of the Constitution. It has been a leading principle with the Whig party at the North from the beginning (both in and out of Congress) to oppose the admission of slavery to Territories now free. But, very unfortunately I must say for us, a party — no, not a party, but a sect, a political sect — has sprung up in our midst, that, taking advantage of a good principle in itself, has pushed it to extremes, connected it with abolition in all its phases, and has, I fear, done more hurt to us and the cause of human freedom than they ever have or ever will do to our adversaries and the system of slavery.

Mr. Underwood — That is true, no doubt.

Mr. Dayton — Members of that party declaim with great unction against slavery and with slavery all it comprises; they deprecate as an unworthy thing that half-and-half virtue which leads us to tolerate it for a moment, or tamper with it at all; they denounce it as weakness, cowardice, because we see the right, and yet dare not pursue it. Mr. President, I always suspect, not the motives, but the moral and mental perceptions of that class of men who, forgetting the possible infirmities of their own little sect of one idea, hold up their one principle, their single light, perhaps a farthing candle, with which to view and pronounce upon the opinions of all mankind. The Whig party North have other principles besides free-soil; and, without depreciating this, I trust that the party will live and flourish North and South when free-soilism and abolitionism, as mere party tests, shall have found one common grave. It has other and high principles of conservatism, which ultimately must regulate and control its destiny.

But, sir, this free-soil feeling at the North has not been, I am persuaded, a mere matter of sentiment, as the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Clay] seemed to intimate at an early stage in this debate. He said that he thought he might fairly ask of the North a greater sacrifice than was claimed in his compromise resolutions. That with the North it was "sentiment, sentiment, sentiment," while with the South it was a question of domestic security. Sir, if that were so, I grant that the South could call

upon us for greater sacrifices; they could call upon us to sacrifice everything to their safety. But, sir, in reference to the extension of slavery to these distant territories, this claim has no support; it is rather matter of sentiment upon the part of the South; and if it were sentiment on both sides, the propriety of concession, and how much, would depend upon the value of the sentiment advocated by the parties respectively. But the vivid picture portrayed by the distinguished Senator of a servile insurrection, burning dwellings, shrieking wives and children, as applicable to these distant territories, has no place; or, if a place, the picture must serve but as a warning, telling us to beware in season how we transfer to a soil now free institutions pregnant with such anticipated horrors. They warn us in time of the responsibility which we incur to posterity if we plant slavery where it is not. We are about now to lay the foundations of other commonwealths; the North says it is our duty, as statesmen and as men, to lay their foundations in such wise that our children and our children's children, to the remotest generation, "may rise up and call us blessed!" — that they may not at some distant day say of us, in bitterness and in sorrow, "The stone which the builder did refuse," the same should have been "the chief of the corner." This is the origin of Northern feeling; it is no sickly sentiment, but judgment, a sound discretion which induces the feeling of the North upon these questions. Sir, draw the slave and free line from the ocean to the Mississippi, and mark the difference between the two sides. "Comparisons are odious." I have no wish to make them, but I know the magnanimity of Kentucky will excuse me. Kentucky, in 1790, had a free population of sixty thousand souls. The sun shines upon no better soil, or stronger hands or stouter hearts than her own. Ohio, her neighbor, with no better soil, if so good, and no superior facilities then or now, was then an unbroken, howling wilderness. Fifty years have rolled round. Kentucky has a free population of less than six hundred thousand. Ohio has a free population of one million and a half! The same difference exists in reference to their productions, agricultural, mechanical, and manufactured. I ask, whence comes the difference? It comes, sir, from the single fact that Kentucky carries dead weight. She has been paralyzed in her efforts by the crushing influence of one institution. I do not wonder that her people are attached to it; he who has been

bred in its midst, nursed by the slave in infancy, followed by him in manhood, looked after by him in age—he may be unwilling to give up the comforts which attend this kind of domestic servitude. But, sir, when we are laying the foundation of empires, the question is not how a few may live in ease, but the question is, how the many shall best live, increase, beautify, and fructify the earth.

DEMOSTHENES

(384–322 B.C.)

THE Oration on the Crown has been called the greatest oration of the world's greatest orator. If it be so, it is because Demosthenes is defending civilization in defending himself as the champion of Athenian autonomy and liberty. The Athens of his day represented all that was highest in intellect, and in the application of intellect to art, to science, to philosophy, to moral force in government. Against it, threatening its overthrow, was the blind desire of empire, the primitive instinct of coercion, the savage pride in dominating the strong and subjugating the weak, represented by Philip and his Macedonians. Athens, a small State, forced to rely almost wholly on intellectual resources, had by virtue of them become the most conspicuous nation in Europe. Athenian diplomacy, the subtle, intangible, all-pervading forces of mind which Demosthenes and his work enable later generations to understand as essentially Attic qualities, influenced not only the policies of Greece, but those of every civilized people in the known world.

The Greece which produced and energized Demosthenes had been itself energized by two great ideas — the ideals of Athens and of Sparta. The one was of grace, the other of strength. The Athenian believed that he ought to develop all his faculties and enjoy them. The Spartan held life useless unless it developed character at the expense of enjoyment. The Athenian was incredibly quick, subtle, æsthetic. The Spartan was strong, simple, self-denying. So opposite in their virtues they had the same fundamental weakness — a defective sense of justice. Of the Athenian character as it had reached its logical climax in the time of Demosthenes, Rufus Choate shows a just appreciation when he writes:—

«Whether Republics have usually perished from injustice need not be debated. One there was, the most renowned of all, that certainly did so. The injustice practiced by the Athens of the age of Demosthenes upon its citizens, and suffered to be practiced by one another, was as marvelous as the capacities of its dialect, as the eloquence by which its masses were regaled, and swayed this way and that as clouds, as waves,— marvelous as the long banquet of beauty in which they reveled,— as their love of Athens, and their passion for glory. There was not one day in the whole public life of Demosthenes when the fortune, the good name, the civil existence of any considerable man was safer there than it would have been at Constantinople or Cairo

under the very worst forms of Turkish rule. There was a sycophant to accuse, a demagogue to prosecute, a fickle, selfish, necessitous court — no court at all, only a commission of some hundreds or thousands from the public assembly sitting in the sunshine, directly interested in the cause — to pronounce judgment. And he who rose rich and honored might be flying at night for his life to some Persian or Macedonian outpost, to die by poison on his way in the Temple of Neptune.»

This is the central truth in the life of Greece as it is in that of the greatest Greek orator and statesman. It must be kept in mind in reading every period of the 'Oration on the Crown,' that then, as always when he spoke on public affairs, the patriot staked fortune, honor, life, on his words. Between Æschines, the rival of Demosthenes, and Demosthenes himself, the issue is always possibly one of life and death — certainly of exile for the loser. But with Demosthenes, it is infinitely higher and broader. He feels that in controling Athens he is moving Greece and the world. He is staking everything for his country and braving for his countrymen the certainty of ingratitude, treachery, and persecution to save them and their civilization from being overcome by encircling and menacing barbarism.

As he came forward to deliver the 'Oration on the Crown,' Demosthenes stood for fruitless patriotism, defeated by the injustice of those it would save. Neither Sparta nor Athens was longer competent to lead Europe. The Macedonians, half Greek, half barbarian, represented the logic of the situation created by the fraud and force of the long struggle for the «hegemony» of Greece. The sovereignty of intellect which Athens might have held against the world was challenged. It was now a question of the Macedonian phalanx against oratory addressed to a people so æsthetic as to be capable of protesting loudly against the use of a grave accent in place of an acute, but with none of that governing public conscience through which alone moral force can exercise itself.

The 'Oration on the Crown' seems to be largely personal and in some measure egotistical, but in defending himself Demosthenes, attacked by the Macedonian party at Athens, feels that he is still defending Athens against Macedon, liberty against Philip, civilization against barbarism. In this feeling he was justified. He had led Athenian opposition to the aggressions of Macedon from the first, and in 338 B. C., when Philip of Macedon so disastrously defeated the Athenians and their allies at Chæronea, Demosthenes, one of the officials in charge of the walls of Athens, had used his own money freely to repair them. After the panic following the battle was over, Ktesiphon, on behalf of the friends of Demosthenes and the opponents of Philip, moved that the orator «should be presented with a golden crown and that a proclamation should be made in the theatre at the great

Dionysian festival, at the performance of the new tragedies, announcing that Demosthenes was rewarded by the people with a golden crown for his integrity, for the good-will which he had invariably displayed towards the Greeks and towards the people of Athens, and also for his magnanimity, and because he had ever both by word and deed promoted the interests of the people and been zealous to do all the good in his power."

Rallying behind Æschines, the Macedonian party attacked Ktesiphon as a means of ruining Demosthenes. They alleged that the measure he proposed was unlawful; first, because it was unlawful to make a false allegation in any public document; second, that it was unlawful to vote a crown to any official who had still a report to make of his official conduct; and third, that the Dionysian festival was not lawfully the place for presenting crowns. Of course, the case turned on the question of whether or not Ktesiphon in moving to crown Demosthenes as a patriot and public benefactor had moved to place a lie in the archives of Athens. Demosthenes was thus put on trial for his Philippics, for his Olynthaics, for all the other orations he had delivered against Philip and the Macedonian movement since he began his crusade twenty years before (351–352 B. C.). After the accusation had been preferred against Ktesiphon, it was allowed to rest seven years (until 330 B. C.). When trial was forced, Philip was dead, and Alexander being at the height of his successes, the cause of Demosthenes seemed hopeless. Nevertheless, all Greece, understanding that the prosecution was not against Ktesiphon, but against Demosthenes as the representative of the old Greek idea of small independent states in friendly alliance, watched the case with breathless interest. When Demosthenes won it, Æschines went into exile, but in 324 Demosthenes was himself exiled by the Macedonian party, and in 322 he took poison to escape death at their hands.

He was born at Pæania, Attica, 384 (385 ?), B. C., and died at Calauria in the Temple of Neptune where he had taken sanctuary from Macedonian pursuit, 322 B. C. He was not a philosopher or an essayist like Cicero, whose all-embracing mind considered nothing in the visible or invisible universe foreign to it. He was a patriot, a statesman, a great thinker, because his sympathies with his country and what it stood for made him so. His style may seem unadorned, but that is merely another way of calling it Attic. Indeed, it was objected by one of his contemporaries that he allowed himself more ornament than the laws of good taste warranted. No one in modern times will make such a complaint of his direct and rapid sentences, compelled as they are by the earnestness of one of the greatest intellects in the history of the world.

THE ORATION ON THE CROWN

(Delivered at Athens, 330 B. C., in Defense of Ktesiphon — from the Translation of Kennedy. Following the plan of the work under which the 'World's Best Orations' are published in full, the 'Oration on the Crown' is given complete, as are also the Second Olynthaic, the Second Philippic, and the 'Oration on the Peace.')

I BEGIN, men of Athens, by praying to every god and goddess that the same good-will which I have ever cherished toward the commonwealth and all of you, may be requited to me on the present trial. I pray likewise — and this specially concerns yourselves, your religion, and your honor — that the gods may put it in your minds not to take counsel of my opponent touching the manner in which I am to be heard, — that would indeed be cruel! — but of the laws and of your oath, wherein (besides the other obligations) it is prescribed that you shall hear both sides alike. This means not only that you must pass no pre-condemnation, not only that you must extend your good-will equally to both, but also that you must allow the parties to adopt such order and course of defense as they severally choose and prefer.

Many advantages hath Æschines over me on this trial; and two especially, men of Athens. First, my risk in the contest is not the same. It is assuredly not the same for me to forfeit your regard, as for my adversary not to succeed in his indictment. To me — but I will say nothing untoward at the outset of my address. The prosecution, however, is play to him. My second disadvantage is the natural disposition of mankind to take pleasure in hearing invective and accusation, and to be annoyed by those who praise themselves. To Æschines is assigned the part which gives pleasure; that which (I may fairly say) is offensive to all is left for me. And if, to escape from this, I make no mention of what I have done, I shall appear to be without defense against his charges, without proof of my claims to honor; whereas, if I proceed to give an account of my conduct and measures, I shall be forced to speak frequently of myself. I will endeavor, then, to do so with all becoming modesty; what I am driven to by the necessity of the case will be fairly chargeable to my opponent who has instituted such a prosecution.

I think, men of the jury, you will all agree that I, as well as Ktesiphon, am a party to this proceeding, and that it is a matter

of no less concern to me. It is painful and grievous to be deprived of anything, especially by the act of one's enemy; but your good-will and affection are the heaviest loss, precisely as they are the greatest prize to gain.

Such being the matters at stake in this cause, I conjure and implore you all alike to hear my defense to the charge in that fair manner which the laws prescribe — laws to which their author, Solon, a man friendly to you and to popular rights, thought that validity should be given, not only by the recording of them, but by the oath of you the jurors; not that he distrusted you, as it appears to me; but, seeing that the charges and calumnies, wherein the prosecutor is powerful by being the first speaker, cannot be got over by the defendant unless each of you jurors, observing his religious obligation, shall with like favor receive the arguments of the last speaker, and lend an equal and impartial ear to both, before he determines upon the whole case.

As I am, it appears, on this day to render an account both of my private life and my public measures, I would fain, as in the outset, call the gods to my aid, and in your presence I implore them, first, that the good-will which I have ever cherished toward the commonwealth and all of you may be fully requited to me on the present trial; next, that they may direct you to such a decision upon this indictment as will conduce to your common honor and to the good conscience of each individual.

Had Æschines confined his charge to the subject of the prosecution, I, too, would have proceeded at once to my justification of the decree. But since he has wasted no fewer words in the discussion of other matters, in most of them calumniating me, I deem it both necessary and just, men of Athens, to begin by shortly adverting to these points that none of you may be induced by extraneous arguments to shut your ears against my defense to the indictment.

To all his scandalous abuse of my private life, observe my plain and honest answer. If you know me to be such as he alleged — for I have lived nowhere else but among you — let not my voice be heard, however transcendent my statesmanship! Rise up this instant and condemn me! But if, in your opinion and judgment, I am far better and of better descent than my adversary; if (to speak without offense) I am not inferior, I or mine, to any respectable citizen, then give no credit to him for

his other statements,—it is plain they were all equally fictions,—but to me let the same good-will, which you have uniformly exhibited upon many former trials, be manifested now. With all your malice, Æschines, it was very simple to suppose that I should turn from the discussion of measures and policy to notice your scandal. I will do no such thing; I am not so crazed. Your lies and calumnies about my political life I will examine forthwith; for that loose ribaldry I shall have a word hereafter, if the jury desire to hear it.

The crimes whereof I am accused are many and grievous: for some of them the laws enact heavy—most severe penalties. The scheme of this present proceeding includes a combination of spiteful insolence, insult, railing, aspersion, and everything of the kind; while for the said charges and accusations, if they were true, the state has not the means of inflicting an adequate punishment, or anything like it. For it is not right to debar another of access to the people and privilege of speech; moreover, to do so by way of malice and insult—by heaven! is neither honest, nor constitutional, nor just. If the crimes which he saw me committing against the state were as heinous as he so tragically gave out, he ought to have enforced the penalties of the law against them at the time—if he saw me guilty of an impeachable offense,—by impeaching and so bringing me to trial before you; if moving illegal decrees, by indicting me for them. For surely, if he can prosecute Ktesiphon on my account, he would not have forborne to indict me myself, had he thought he could convict me. In short, whatever else he saw me doing to your prejudice, whether mentioned or not mentioned in his catalogue of slander, there are laws for such things, and punishments, and trials, and judgments, with sharp and severe penalties; all of which he might have enforced against me: and had he done so—had he thus pursued the proper method with me, his charges would have been consistent with his conduct. But now he has declined the straightforward and just course, avoided all proofs of guilt at the time, and, after this long interval, gets up, to play his part withal, a heap of accusation, ribaldry, and scandal. Then he arraigns me, but prosecutes the defendant. His hatred of me he makes the prominent part of the whole contest; yet, without having ever met me upon that ground, he openly seeks to deprive a third party of his privileges. Now, men of Athens, besides all the other arguments that may be urged in Ktesiphon's

behalf, this, methinks, may very fairly be alleged — that we should try our own quarrel by ourselves; not leave our private dispute, and look what third party we can damage. That surely were the height of injustice.

It may appear from what has been said, that all his charges are alike unjust and unfounded in truth. Yet I wish to examine them separately, and especially his calumnies about the peace and the embassy, where he attributed to me the acts of himself and Philocrates. It is necessary also, and perhaps proper, men of Athens, to remind you how affairs stood at those times, that you may consider every single measure in reference to the occasion.

When the Phocian War had broken out,— not through me, for I had not then commenced public life,— you were in this position: you wished the Phocians to be saved, though you saw they were not acting right — and would have been glad for the Thebans to suffer anything, with whom for a just reason you were angry, for they had not borne with moderation their good fortune at Leuctra. The whole of Peloponnesus was divided: they that hated the Lacedæmonians were not powerful enough to destroy them, and they that ruled before by Spartan influence were not masters of the States. Among them, as among the rest of the Greeks, there was a sort of unsettled strife and confusion. Philip, seeing this,— it was not difficult to see,— lavished bribes upon the traitors in every State, embroiled and stirred them all up against each other; and so, by the errors and follies of the rest, he was strengthening himself and growing up to the ruin of all. But when every one saw that the then overbearing, but now unfortunate, Thebans, harassed by so long a war, must of necessity have recourse to you, Philip, to prevent this and obstruct the union of the States, offered to you peace, to them succor. What helped him then almost to surprise you in a voluntary snare? The cowardice, shall I call it? or ignorance — or both — of the other Greeks; who, while you were waging a long and incessant war, and that too for their common benefit, as the event has shown, assisted you neither with money nor men, nor anything else whatsoever. You, being justly and naturally offended with them, lent a willing ear to Philip.

The peace then granted was through such means brought about, not through me, as Æschines calumniously charged. The criminal and corrupt practices of these men during the treaty will be found on fair examination to be the cause of our present

condition. The whole matter I am for truth's sake discussing and going through; for, let there appear to be ever so much criminality in these transactions, it is surely nothing to me. The first who spoke and mentioned the subject of peace was Aristodemus, the actor; the seconder and mover, fellow-hireling for that purpose with the prosecutor, was Philocrates the Agnusian — your associate, Æschines, not mine, though you should burst with lying. Their supporters — from whatever motives — I pass that by for the present — were Eubulus and Cephisophon. I had nothing to do with it.

Notwithstanding these facts, which I have stated exactly according to the truth, he ventured to assert — to such a pitch of impudence had he come — that I, besides being author of the peace, had prevented the country making it in a general council with the Greeks. Why you — I know not what name you deserve! — when you saw me robbing the state of an advantage and connection so important as you described just now, did you ever express indignation? Did you come forward to publish and proclaim what you now charge me with? If, indeed, I had been bribed by Philip to prevent the conjunction of the Greeks, it was your business not to be silent, but to cry out, to protest, and inform the people. But you never did so; your voice was never heard to such a purpose; and no wonder; for at that time no embassy had been sent to any of the Greeks; they had all been tested long before, and not a word of truth upon the subject has Æschines spoken.

Besides, it is the country that he most traduces by his falsehoods. For, if you were at the same time calling on the Greeks to take arms, and sending your own embassadors to treat with Philip for peace, you were performing the part of an Eurybatus, not the act of a commonwealth, or of honest men. But it is false, it is false. For what purpose could ye have sent for them at that period? For peace? They all had it. For war? You were yourselves deliberating about peace. It appears, therefore, I was not the adviser or the author of the original peace; and none of his other calumnies against me are shown to be true.

Observe again, after the state had concluded the peace, what line of conduct each of us adopted. Hence, you will understand who it was that co-operated in everything with Philip; who that acted in your behalf, and sought the advantage of the commonwealth.

I moved in the council that our embassadors should sail instantly for whatever place they heard Philip was in, and receive his oath; they would not, however, notwithstanding my resolution. What was the effect of this, men of Athens? I will explain. It was Philip's interest that the interval before the oaths should be as long as possible; yours, that it should be as short. Why? Because you discontinued all your warlike preparations, not only from the day of swearing peace, but from the day that you conceived hopes of it; a thing which Philip was from the beginning studious to contrive, believing — rightly enough — that whatever of our possessions he might take before the oath of ratification, he should hold securely, as none would break the peace on such account. I, men of Athens, foreseeing and weighing these consequences, moved the decree to sail for whatever place Philip was in, and receive his oath without delay, so that your allies, the Thracians, might be in possession of the places which Æschines ridiculed just now (Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergisce), at the time of swearing the oaths; and that Philip might not become master of Thrace by securing the posts of vantage, nor provide himself with plenty of money and troops to facilitate his further designs. Yet this decree he neither mentions nor reads, but reproaches me, because, as councilor, I thought proper to introduce the embassadors. Why, what should I have done? Moved not to introduce men who were come for the purpose of conferring with you? or ordered the manager not to assign them places at the theatre? They might have had places for their two obols if the resolution had not been moved. Was it my duty to guard the petty interests of the state, and have sold our main interests like these men? Surely not. Take and read me this decree, which the prosecutor, knowing it well, passed over. Read.

THE DECREE

"In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the thirteenth of Hecatombæon, in the presidency of the Pandionian tribe, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, moved,— Whereas Philip has sent embassadors for peace, and hath agreed upon articles of treaty, it is resolved by the Council and People of Athens, in order that the peace voted in the first assembly may be ratified, to choose forthwith from the whole body of Athenians five embassadors; and that the persons elected do repair, without any delay, wheresoever they shall ascertain that Philip is, and as speedily as may be exchange oaths with him,

according to the articles agreed on between him and the Athenian people, comprehending the allies of either party. For embassadors were chosen, Eubulus of Anaphlestus, Æschines of Cothocidæ, Cephisophon of Rhamnus, Democrates of Phlya, Cleon of Cothocidæ.»

Notwithstanding that I had passed this decree for the advantage of Athens, not that of Philip, our worthy embassadors so little regarded it as to sit down in Macedonia three whole months, until Philip returned from Thrace after entirely subjugating the country, although they might in ten days, or rather in three or four, have reached the Hellespont and saved the fortresses, by receiving his oath before he reduced them: for he would never have touched them in our presence, or we should not have sworn him; and thus he would have lost the peace, and not have obtained both the peace and the fortresses.

Such was the first trick of Philip, the first corrupt act of these accursed miscreants, in the embassy: for which I avow that I was and am and ever will be at war and variance with them. But mark another and still greater piece of villainy immediately after. When Philip had sworn to the peace, having secured Thrace through these men disobeying my decree, he again bribes them not to leave Macedonia, until he had got all ready for his expedition against the Phocians. His fear was, if they reported to you his design and preparation for marching, you might sally forth, sail round with your galleys to Thermopylæ as before, and block up the strait: his desire, that, the moment you received the intelligence from them, he should have passed Thermopylæ, and you be unable to do anything. And in such terror and anxiety was Philip, lest, notwithstanding he had gained these advantages, if you voted succor before the destruction of the Phocians, his enterprise should fail; he hires this despicable fellow, no longer in common with the other embassadors, but by himself individually, to make that statement and report to you, by which everything was lost.

I conjure and beseech you, men of Athens, throughout the trial to remember this, that, if Æschines in his charge had not traveled out of the indictment, neither would I have spoken a word irrelevant; but since he has resorted to every species both of accusation and calumny, it is necessary for me to reply briefly to each of his charges.

What, then, were the statements made by Æschines, through which everything was lost? That you should not be alarmed

by Philip's having passed Thermopylæ — that all would be as you desired, if you kept quiet; and in two or three days you would hear he was their friend to whom he had come as an enemy, and their enemy to whom he had come as a friend — it was not words that cemented attachments (such was his solemn phrase), but identity of interest; and it was the interest of all alike, Philip, the Phocians, and you, to be relieved from the harshness and insolence of the Thebans. His assertions were heard by some with pleasure, on account of the hatred which then subsisted against the Thebans. But what happened directly, almost immediately, afterward? The wretched Phocians were destroyed, their cities demolished; you that kept quiet, and trusted to Æschines, were shortly bringing in your effects out of the country, while Æschines received gold; and yet more — while you got nothing but your enmity with the Thebans and Thessalians, Philip won their gratitude for what he had done. To prove what I say, read me the decree of Callisthenes, and the letter of Philip, from both of which these particulars will be clear to you. Read.

THE DECREE

«In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, an extraordinary assembly having been convened by the Generals, with the sanction of the Presidents and the Council, on the twenty-first of Mæmacterion, Callisthenes, son of Eteonicus of Phalerum, moved: — No Athenian shall on any pretense sleep in the country, but all in the city and Piræus, except those who are stationed in the garrisons; and they shall every one keep the posts assigned to them, without absenting themselves by night or day. Whosoever disobeys this decree, shall be amenable to the penalties of treason, unless he can show that some necessity prevented him; the judges of such necessity shall be the General of Infantry, and he of the Finance Department, and the Secretary of the Council. All effects shall be conveyed out of the country as speedily as may be; those that are within a hundred and twenty furlongs into the city and Piræus, those that are beyond a hundred and twenty furlongs to Eleusis and Phyle and Aphidna and Rhamnus and Sunium. On the motion of Callisthenes of Phalerum.»

Was it with such expectations you concluded the peace. Were such the promises this hireling made you? Come, read the letter which Philip sent after this to Athens.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

«Philip, king of Macedonia, to the Council and People of Athens, greeting. Ye know that we have passed Thermopylæ, and reduced Phocis to submission, and put garrisons in the towns that opened their gates; those that resisted we took by storm, and razed to the ground, enslaving their inhabitants. Hearing, however, that ye are preparing to assist them, I have written unto you, that ye may trouble yourselves no farther in the business. For it seems to me, ye are acting altogether unreasonably; having concluded peace, and nevertheless taking the field, and that too when the Phocians are not comprehended in our treaty. Wherefore, if ye abide not by your engagements, ye will gain no advantage but that of being the aggressors.»

You hear how plainly, in his letter to you, he declares and asserts to his own allies — «all this I have done against the will of the Athenians, and in their despite; therefore if ye are wise, ye Thebans and Thessalians, ye will regard them as enemies, and put confidence in me»; not writing in such words, but meaning so to be understood. And by these means he carried them away with him, insomuch that they had neither foresight nor sense of the consequences, but suffered him to get everything into his power; hence the misfortunes under which those wretched people at present are. The agent and auxiliary who helped to win for him such confidence, — who brought false reports here and cajoled you, — he it is who now bewails the sufferings of the Thebans and dilates upon them so pathetically, he himself being the cause both of these calamities, and those in Phocis, and all the rest which the Greeks have sustained. Truly must you, Æschines, grieve at these events, and compassionate the Thebans, when you hold property in Bœotia and farm their lands; and I rejoice at a work whose author immediately required me to be delivered into his hands.

But I have fallen upon a subject which it may be more convenient to discuss by and by. I will return then to my proofs, showing how the iniquities of these men have brought about the present state of things.

When you had been deceived by Philip through the agency of these men, who sold themselves in the embassies, and reported not a word of truth to you — when the unhappy Phocians had been deceived and their cities destroyed — what followed? The

despicable Thessalians and stupid Thebans looked on Philip as a friend, a benefactor, a savior: he was everything with them — not a syllable would they hear from any one to the contrary. You, though regarding his acts with suspicion and anger, still observed the peace; for you could have done nothing alone. The rest of the Greeks, cheated and disappointed like yourselves, gladly observed the peace, though they also had in a manner been attacked for a long time. For when Philip was marching about, subduing Illyrians and Triballians and some also of the Greeks, and gaining many considerable accessions of power, and certain citizens of the states (Æschines among them) took advantage of the peace to go there and be corrupted, all people then, against whom he was making such preparations, were attacked. If they perceived it not, that is another question, no concern of mine. I was forever warning and protesting, both at Athens and wheresoever I was sent. But the States were diseased; one class in their politics and measures being venal and corrupt, while the multitude of private men either had no foresight, or were caught with the bait of present ease and idleness; and all were under some such influence, only they imagined each that the mischief would not approach themselves, but that by the peril of others they might secure their own safety when they chose. The result, I fancy, has been that the people, in return for their gross and unseasonable indolence, have lost their liberty: the statesmen, who imagined they were selling everything but themselves, discovered they had sold themselves first; for, instead of friends, as they were named during the period of bribery, they are now called parasites and miscreants and the like befitting names. Justly. For no man, O Athenians, spends money for the traitor's benefit, or, when he has got possession of his purchase, employs the traitor to advise him in future proceedings: else nothing could have been more fortunate than a traitor. But it is not so — it never could be — it is far otherwise! When the aspirant for power has gained his object, he is master also of those that sold it; and then — then, I say, knowing their baseness, he loathes and mistrusts and spurns them.

Consider only — for though the time of the events is past, the time for understanding them is ever present to the wise: Lasthenes was called the friend of Philip for a while, until he betrayed Olynthus; Timolaus for a while, until he destroyed Thebes; Rudicus and Simus of Larissa for a while, until they brought

Thessaly under Philip's power. Since then the world has become full of traitors expelled and insulted and suffering every possible calamity. How fared Aristratus in Sicyon? how Perilaus in Megara? Are they not outcasts? Hence, one may evidently see, it is the vigilant defender of his country, the strenuous opponent of such men, who secures to you traitors and hirelings, Æschines, the opportunity of getting bribes; through the number of those that oppose your wishes you are in safety and in pay, for had it depended on yourselves you would have perished long ago.

Much more could I say about those transactions, yet methinks too much has been said already. The fault is my adversary's, for having spurted over me the dregs, I may say, of his own wickedness and iniquities, of which I was obliged to clear myself to those who are younger than the events. You, too, have probably been disgusted, who knew this man's venality before I spoke a word. He calls it friendship, indeed, and said somewhere in his speech — "the man who reproaches me with the friendship of Alexander." I reproach you with the friendship of Alexander! Whence gotten, or how merited? Neither Philip's friend nor Alexander's should I ever call you; I am not so mad; unless we are to call reapers and other hired laborers the friends of those who hire them. That, however, is not so — how could it be? It is nothing of the kind. Philip's hireling I called you once, and Alexander's I call you now. So do all these men. If you disbelieve me, ask them; or rather I will do it for you. Athenians! is Æschines, think ye, the hireling or the friend of Alexander? You hear what they say.

I now proceed to my defense upon the indictment itself, and to the account of my own measures, that Æschines may hear, though he knows already, on what I found my title both to these which have been decreed and to far greater rewards. Take and read me the indictment itself.

THE INDICTMENT

"In the archonship of Chærondas, on the sixth of Elaphebolion, Æschines, son of Atrometus of Cothocidæ, preferred before the archon an indictment against Ktesiphon, son of Leosthenes of Anaphlystus, for an illegal measure: for that he proposed a decree against law, to wit, that it was right to crown Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with a golden crown and to proclaim in the theatre at the great Dionysian festival, at the exhibition of the new tragedies, that

the people crown Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with a golden crown, on account of his virtue, and of the good-will which he has constantly cherished toward all the Greeks as well as toward the people of Athens, and of his integrity, and because he has constantly by word and deed promoted the advantage of the people, and is zealous to do whatever good he can: all which clauses are false and illegal; the laws enacting: firstly, that no false allegations shall be entered in the public records; secondly, that an accountable officer shall not be crowned (but Demosthenes is a conservator of the walls, and has charge of the theoric fund); thirdly, that the crown shall not be proclaimed in the theatre at the Dionysian festival, on the new exhibition of tragedies, but if the council confer a crown, it shall be published in the council-hall, if the people, in the Pnyx at the assembly. Penalty, fifty talents. Witnesses to the summons, Cephisophon, son of Cephisophon of Rhamnus, Cleon, son of Cleon of Cothocidæ."

The clauses of the decree which he prosecutes are these, men of Athens. Now from these very clauses I think I shall immediately make it clear to you that my whole defense will be just; for I shall take the charges in the same order as my adversary, and discuss them all one by one, without a single intentional omission.

With respect to the statement, "that I have constantly by word and deed promoted the advantage of the people, and am zealous to do whatever good I can," and the praising me on such grounds, your judgment, I conceive, must depend on my public acts; from an examination of which it will be discovered whether what Ktesiphon has alleged concerning me is true and proper, or false. As to his proposing to give the crown without adding "when he has passed his accounts," and to proclaim the crown in the theatre, I imagine that this also relates to my political conduct, whether I am worthy of the crown and the public proclamation, or not. However, I deem it necessary to produce the laws which justified the defendant in proposing such clauses.

Thus honestly and simply, men of Athens, have I resolved to conduct my defense. I now proceed to my own actual measures. And let no one suppose that I wander from the indictment, if I touch upon Grecian questions and affairs: he who attacks that clause of the decree, "that by word and deed I have promoted your good"—he who has indicted this for being false—he, I say, has rendered the discussion of my whole policy pertinent and necessary to the charge. Moreover, there being many de-

partments of political action, I chose that which belonged to Grecian affairs: therefore, I am justified in drawing my proofs from them.

The conquests which Philip had got and held before I commenced life as a statesman and orator, I shall pass over, as I think they concern not me. Those that he was baffled in from the day of my entering on such duties, I will call to your recollection, and render an account of them; premising one thing only — Philip started, men of Athens, with a great advantage. It happened that among the Greeks — not some, but all alike — there sprang up a crop of traitors and venal wretches, such as in the memory of man had never been before. These he got for his agents and supporters: the Greeks, already ill-disposed and unfriendly to each other, he brought into a still worse state, deceiving this people, making presents to that, corrupting others in every way; and he split them into many parties, when they had all one interest, to prevent his aggrandizement. While the Greeks were all in such a condition,— in such ignorance of the gathering and growing mischief,— you have to consider, men of Athens, what policy and measures it became the commonwealth to adopt, and of this to receive a reckoning from me; for the man who assumed that post in the administration was I.

Ought she, Æschines, to have cast off her spirit and dignity, and, in the style of Thessalians and Dolopians, helped to acquire for Philip the dominion of Greece, and extinguished the honors and rights of our ancestors? Or, if she did not this,— which would indeed have been shameful,— was it right that what she saw would happen if unprevented, and was for a long time, it seems, aware of, she should suffer to come to pass?

I would gladly ask the severest censurer of our acts, with what party he would have wished the commonwealth to side,— with those who contributed to the disgraces and disasters of the Greeks, the party, we may say, of the Thessalians and their followers, or those who permitted it all for the hope of selfish advantage, among whom we may reckon the Arcadians, Messenians, and Argives? But many of them, or rather all, have fared worse than ourselves. If Philip after his victory had immediately marched off and kept quiet, without molesting any either of his own allies or of the Greeks in general, still they that opposed not his enterprises would have merited some blame and reproach. But when he has stripped all alike of their dignity,

their authority, their liberty,—nay, even of their constitutions, where he was able,—can it be doubted that you took the most glorious course in pursuance of my counsels?

But I return to the question—What should the commonwealth, Æschines, have done, when she saw Philip establishing an empire and dominion over Greece? Or what was your statesman to advise or move?—I, a statesman at Athens?—for this is most material—I who knew that from the earliest time, until the day of my own mounting the platform, our country had ever striven for precedency and honor and renown, and expended more blood and treasure for the sake of glory and the general weal than the rest of the Greeks had expended on their several interests?—who saw that in the strife for power and empire, Philip himself, with whom we were contending, had had his eye cut out, his collar bone fractured, his hand and leg mutilated, and was ready and willing to sacrifice any part of his body that fortune chose to take, provided he could live with the remainder in honor and glory? Hardly will any one venture to say this—that it became a man bred at Pella, then an obscure and inconsiderable place, to possess such inborn magnanimity as to aspire to the mastery of Greece and form the project in his mind, while you, who were Athenians, day after day in speeches and in dramas reminded of the virtue of your ancestors, should have been so naturally base as of your own free will and accord to surrender to Philip the liberty of Greece. No man will say this!

The only course then that remained was a just resistance to all his attacks upon you. Such course you took from the beginning, properly and becomingly; and I assisted by motions and counsels during the period of my political life·—I acknowledge it. But what should I have done? I put this question to you, dismissing all else: Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonnesus—I mention none of them: Serrium, Doriscus, the ravaging of Peparethus, and any similar wrongs which the country has suffered—I know not even of their occurrence. You, indeed, said that by talking of these I had brought the people into a quarrel, although the resolutions respecting them were moved by Eubulus and Aristophon and Diopithes—not by me, you ready utterer of what suits your purpose! Neither will I speak of these now. But I ask—the man who was appropriating to himself Eubœa, and making it a fortress against Attica, and attempting Megara, and seizing Oreus, and razing Porthmus, and setting

up Philistides as tyrant in Oreus, Clitarchus in Eretria, and subjugating the Hellespont, and besieging Byzantium, and destroying some of the Greek cities, restoring exiles to others — was he by all these proceedings committing injustice, breaking the truce, violating the peace, or not? Was it meet that any of the Greeks should rise up to prevent these proceedings, or not? If not — if Greece were to present the spectacle (as it is called) of a Mysian prey, while Athenians had life and being, then I have exceeded my duty in speaking on the subject — the commonwealth has exceeded her duty, which followed my counsels — I admit that every measure has been a misdeed, a blunder of mine. But if some one ought to have arisen to prevent these things, who but the Athenian people should it have been? Such, then, was the policy which I espoused. I saw him reducing all men to subjection, and I opposed him: I continued warning and exhorting you not to make these sacrifices to Philip.

It was he that infringed the peace by taking our ships; it was not the state, Æschines. Produce the decrees themselves, and Philip's letter, and read them one after another. From an examination of them it will be evident who is chargeable with each proceeding. Read.

THE DECREE

«In the archonship of Neocles, in the month Boedromion, an extraordinary assembly having been convened by the generals, Eubulus, son of Mnesitheus of Cytherus, moved: Whereas the generals have reported in the assembly that Leodamas the admiral, and the twenty vessels dispatched with him to the Hellespont for the safe conduct of the corn, have been carried to Macedonia by Philip's general, Amyntas, and are detained in custody, let the presidents and the generals take care that the council be convened, and embassadors to Philip be chosen, who shall go and treat with him for the release of the admiral, vessels, and troops; and if Amyntas has acted in ignorance, they shall say that the people make no complaint against him; if the admiral is found wrongfully exceeding his instructions, that the Athenians will make inquiry and punish him as his negligence deserves: if it be neither of these things, but a willful trespass on the part of him who gave or him who received the commission, let them state this also, that the people, being apprised, may deliberate what course to take.»

This decree Eubulus carried, not I. The next, Aristophon; then Hegesippus, then Aristophon again, then Philocrates, then

Cephisophon, then the rest. I had no concern in the matter. Read the decree.

THE DECREE

«In the archonship of Neocles, on the last day of Boedromion, at the desire of the council, the presidents and generals introduced their report of the proceedings of the assembly, to wit: that the people had resolved to appoint embassadors to Philip for the recovery of the ships, and to furnish them with instructions and with the decrees of the assembly; and they appointed the following: Cephisophon, son of Cleon of Anaphlystus; Democritus, son of Demophon of Anagyrus; Polycritus, son of Apemantus of Cothocidæ. In the presidency of the Hippothoontian tribe, on the motion of Aristophon of Colyttus, committeeman.»

Now then, as I produce these decrees, so do you, Æschines, point out what decree of my passing makes me chargeable with the war. You cannot find one; had you any, there is nothing you would sooner have produced. Why, even Philip makes no charge against me on account of the war, though he complains of others. Read Philip's own letter.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

«Philip, king of Macedon, to the Council and People of Athens, greeting. Your embassadors, Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycritus, came to me and conferred about the release of the galleys which Laomedon commanded. Upon the whole, I think you must be very simple if you imagine I do not see that those galleys were commissioned, under the pretense of conveying corn from the Hellespont to Lemnos, to relieve the Selymbrians, whom I am besieging, and who are not included in the friendly treaty subsisting between us. And these instructions were given, without leave of the Athenian people, by certain magistrates and others who are not now in office, but who are anyways desirous for the people to exchange our present amity for a renewal of war, and are far more anxious for such a consummation than to relieve the Selymbrians. They suppose it will be a source of income to themselves; however, I scarcely think it is for your advantage or mine. Wherefore I release you the vessels carried into my port; and for the future, if, instead of allowing your statesmen to adopt malignant measures, you will punish them, I too will endeavor to maintain the peace. Farewell.»

Here is no mention by him of Demosthenes, or any charge against me. Why, then, while he complains of the others, makes

he no mention of my acts? Because he must have noticed his own aggressions, had he written aught concerning me; for on these I fixed myself — these I kept resisting. And first I proposed the embassy to Peloponnesus, when into Peloponnesus he began to steal; next that to Eubœa, when on Eubœa he was laying his hands; then the expedition (no longer an embassy) to Oreus, and that to Eretria, when he established rulers in those cities. Afterward I dispatched all the armaments, by which Chersonesus was preserved, and Byzantium, and all our allies; whence to you there accrued the noblest results — praises, eulogies, honors, crowns, thanks from those you succored; while the people attacked — those that trusted you then obtained deliverance, those that disregarded you have had often to remember your warnings and to be convinced that you were not only their friends, but wise men also and prophets: for all that you predicted has come to pass.

That Philistides would have given a great deal to keep Oreus — Clitarchus a great deal to keep Eretria — Philip himself a great deal to have these vantage-posts against you, and in other matters to avoid exposure, and any inquiry into his wrongful acts in general — no man is ignorant, and least of all you. For the embassadors who came here then from Clitarchus and Philistides lodged with you, Æschines, and you were their host. The commonwealth regarded them as enemies, whose offers were neither just nor advantageous, and expelled them; but they were your friends. None of their designs then were accomplished; you slanderer — who say of me that I am silent when I have got something, and bawl when I have spent it! That is not your custom. You bawl when you have something, and will never stop, unless the jury stop you by disfranchisement to-day.

When you crowned me then for those services, and Aristonicus drew up the same words that Ktesiphon here has now drawn up, and the crown was proclaimed in the theatre, — for this now is the second proclamation in my favor, — Æschines, being present, neither opposed it, nor indicted the mover. Take this decree now and read it.

THE DECREE

"In the archonship of Chærondas, son of Hegemon, on the twenty-fifth of Gamelion, in the presidency of the Leontian tribe, Aristonicus of Phrearrii moved: Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of

Pæania, hath rendered many important services to the people of Athens, and to divers of her allies heretofore, and hath also on the present occasion aided them by his decrees, and liberated certain of the cities in Eubœa, and perseveres in his attachment to the people of Athens, and doth by word and deed whatever good he can for the Athenians themselves and the rest of the Greeks: It is resolved by the Council and People of Athens, to honor Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with public praise and a golden crown, and to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the Dionysian festival at the new tragedies, and the proclamation of the crown shall be given in charge to the presiding tribe and the prize-master. On the motion of Aristonicus of Phrearrii.»

Is there one of you that knows of any disgrace falling on the state by reason of this decree, or any scorn or ridicule — consequences which this man now predicts, if I be crowned? It is when acts are recent and notorious that, if good, they obtain reward, if the contrary, punishment; and it appears that I then obtained reward, not blame or punishment. So, up to the period of those transactions, I am acknowledged on all occasions to have promoted the interests of the state — because my speeches and motions prevailed in your councils — because my measures were executed, and procured crowns for the commonwealth and for me and all of you — because you have offered sacrifices and thanksgivings to the gods for their success.

When Philip therefore was driven out of Eubœa, with arms by you, with councils and decrees — though some persons there should burst! — by me, he sought some new position of attack upon Athens. Seeing that we use more foreign corn than any people, and wishing to command the passage of the corn trade, he advanced to Thrace; the Byzantines being his allies, he first required them to join in the war against you, and when they refused, saying (truly enough) that they had not made alliance on such terms, he threw up intrenchments before the city, planted batteries, and laid siege to it. What course hereupon it became you to take, I will not ask again; it is manifest to all. But who was it that succored the Byzantines and rescued them? Who prevented the alienation of the Hellespont at that crisis? You, men of Athens. When I say you, I mean the commonwealth. But who advised, framed, executed the measures of state, devoted himself wholly and unreservedly to the public business? — I! — What benefits thence accrued to all, you need no further to be told;

you have learned by experience. For the war which then sprang up, besides that it brought honor and renown, kept you in a cheaper and more plentiful supply of all the necessaries of life than does the present peace, which these worthies maintain to their country's prejudice in the hope of something to come. Perish such hope! Never may they share the blessings for which you men of honest wishes pray to the gods, nor communicate their own principles to you!

Read them now the crowns of the Byzantines, and those of the Perinthians, which they conferred upon the country as a reward.

THE BYZANTINE DECREE

«In the presbytership of Bosporichus, Damagetus moved in the assembly, having obtained permission of the Council: Whereas the people of Athens have ever in former times been friendly to the Byzantines and their allies, and to their kinsmen the Perinthians, and have rendered them many signal services, and also, on the present occasion, when Philip of Macedon attempted by invasion and siege to exterminate the Byzantines and Perinthians, and burned and ravaged their country, they succored us with a hundred and twenty ships and provisions and weapons and soldiers, and rescued us from grievous perils, and preserved our hereditary constitution, our laws, and our sepulchres; it is resolved by the people of Byzantium and Perinthus to grant unto the Athenians the right of intermarriage, citizenship, purchase of land and houses, the first seat at the games, first admission to the council and people after the sacrifices, and exemption from all public services to such as wish to reside in the city; and that three statues of sixteen cubits be erected in the harbor, representing the people of Athens crowned by the people of Byzantium and Perinthus; and deputations sent to the general assemblies of Greece,—the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian,—to proclaim the crowns wherewith the people of Athens hath been honored by us, that all the Greeks may know the virtue of the Athenians and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians.»

Now read the crowns given by the people of Chersonesus.

THE DECREE

«The Chersonesites, inhabitants of Sestus, Eleus, Madytus, and Alopeconnesus, crown the Council and People of Athens with a golden crown of the value of sixty talents, and build an altar to Gratitude

and the Athenian People, because that people hath helped the Chersonesites to obtain the greatest of blessings, by rescuing them from the power of Philip, and restoring their country, their laws, their liberty, their sanctuaries; and in all future time they will not fail to be grateful, and do what service they can. Decreed in general council."

Thus the saving of Chersonesus and Byzantium, the preventing Philip's conquest of the Hellespont, and the honors therefore bestowed on this country, were the effects of my policy and administration; and more than this — they proved to all mankind the generosity of Athens and the baseness of Philip. He, the ally and friend of the Byzantines, was before all eyes besieging them — what could be more shameful or outrageous? You, who might justly on many grounds have reproached them for wrongs done you in former times, instead of bearing malice and abandoning the oppressed, appeared as their deliverers,— conduct which procured you glory, good-will, honor from all men. That you have crowned many of your statesmen, every one knows; but through what other person (I mean what minister or orator) besides myself, the commonwealth has been crowned, no one can say.

To prove now the malignity of those calumnies, which he urged against the Eubœans and Byzantines, reminding you of any unkindness which they had done you — prove it I shall, not only by their falsehood, which I apprehend you know already, but (were they ever so true) by showing the advantages of my policy — I wish to recount one or two of the noble acts of your own state, and to do it briefly; for individuals, as well as communities, should ever strive to model their future conduct by the noblest of their past.

Well, then, men of Athens, when the Lacedæmonians had the empire of land and sea, and held the country round Attica by governors and garrisons, Eubœa, Tanagra, all Bœotia, Megara, Ægina, Cleonæ, the other islands; when our state possessed neither ships nor walls, you marched out to Haliartus, and again not many days after to Corinth; albeit the Athenians of that time had many causes of resentment against both Corinthians and Thebans for their acts in the Decelean war; but they showed no resentment, none. And yet neither of these steps took they, Æschines, for benefactors, nor were they blind to the danger; but they would not for such reasons abandon people who sought their protection; for the sake of renown and glory they willingly

exposed themselves to peril. Just and noble was their resolve! For to all mankind the end of life is death, though one keep oneself shut up in a closet; but it becomes brave men to strive always for honor, with good hope before them, and to endure courageously whatever the Deity ordains.

Thus did your ancestors, thus the elder among yourselves. For, though the Lacedæmonians were neither friends nor benefactors, but had done many grievous injuries to our state, yet when the Thebans, victorious at Leuctra, sought their destruction, you prevented it, not fearing the power and reputation then possessed by the Thebans, nor reckoning up the merits of those whom you were about to fight for. And so you demonstrated to all the Greeks that, however any people may offend you, you reserve your anger against them for other occasions; but should their existence or liberty be imperiled, you will not resent your wrongs or bring them into account.

And not in these instances only hath such been your temper. Again, when the Thebans were taking possession of Eubœa, you looked not quietly on, you remembered not the wrongs done you by Themison and Theodorus in the affair of Oropus, but assisted even them. It was the time when the volunteer captains first offered themselves to the state, of whom I was one; but of this presently. However, it was glorious that you saved the island, but far more glorious that, when you had got their persons and their cities in your power, you fairly restored them to the people who had ill-used you, and made no reckoning of your wrongs in an affair where you were trusted.

Hundreds of cases which I could mention I pass over — sea fights, land marches, campaigns, both in ancient times and in your own, all of which the commonwealth has undertaken for the freedom and safety of the Greeks in general. Then, having observed the commonwealth engaging in contests of such number and importance for the interests of others, what was I to urge, what course to recommend her when the question in a manner concerned herself? To revive grudges, I suppose, against people who wanted help, and to seek pretenses for abandoning everything. And who might not justly have killed me, had I attempted even by words to tarnish any of the honors of Athens? For the thing itself, I am certain, you would never have done — had you wished, what was to hinder you? any lack of opportunity? — had you not these men to advise it?

I must return to the next in date of my political acts; and here again consider what was most beneficial for the state. I saw, men of Athens, that your navy was decaying, and that, while the rich were getting off with small payments, citizens of moderate or small fortunes were losing their substance, and the state, by reason thereof, missing her opportunities of action. I therefore proposed a law, by which I compelled the one class (the rich) to perform their duty, and stopped the oppression of the poor; and — what was most useful to the country — I caused her preparations to be made in time. And being indicted for it, I appeared on the charge before you, and was acquitted; and the prosecutor did not get his portion of the votes. But what sums, think ye, the chief men of the boards, or those in the second and third degrees, offered me, first, not to propose that law, second, when I had recorded it, to drop it on the abatement oath? Such sums, men of Athens, as I should be afraid to tell you. And no wonder they did so; for under the former laws they might divide the charge between sixteen, spending little or nothing themselves, and grinding down the needy citizens; whereas under my law every one had to pay a sum proportioned to his means, and there was a captain for two ships, where before there was a partner with fifteen others for one ship — for they were calling themselves not captains any longer, but partners. They would have given anything then to get these regulations annulled, and not be obliged to perform their duties. Read me, first, the decree for which I appeared to the indictment, then the service rolls, that of the former law, and that under mine. Read.

THE DECREE

«In the archonship of Polycles, on the sixteenth of Boedromion, in the presidency of the Hippothoontian tribe, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, introduced a law for the naval service, instead of the former one under which there were the associations of joint captains; and it was passed by the council and people. And Patrocles of Phlyus preferred an indictment against Demosthenes for an illegal measure, and, not having obtained his share of the votes, paid the penalty of five hundred drachms.»

Now produce that fine roll.

THE ROLL

«Let sixteen captains be called out for every galley, as they are associated in the companies, from the age of twenty-five to forty, defraying the charge equally.»

Now for the roll under my law.

THE ROLL

«Let captains be chosen according to their property by valuation, taking ten talents to a galley: if the property be valued at a higher sum, let the charge be proportionate, as far as three ships and a tender; and let it be in the same proportion for those whose property is less than ten talents, joining them in a partnership to make up ten talents.»

Think ye I but slightly helped the poor of Athens, or that the rich would have spent but a trifling sum to escape the doing what was right? I glory, however, not only in having refused this compromise, and having been acquitted on the indictment, but because my law was beneficial, and I have proved it so by trial. For during the whole war, while the armaments were shipped off according to my regulations, no captain ever appealed to you against oppression, or took sanctuary at Munychia, or was imprisoned by the clearing officers; no galley was lost to the state by capture abroad, or left behind from unfitness to go to sea. Under the former laws all these things happened — because the burden was put upon the poor, and therefore difficulties frequently arose. I transferred the charge from the poor to the wealthy, and then every duty was done. For this itself, too, I deserve praise, that I adopted all such measures as brought glory and honor and power to the state: there is no envy, spite, or malice in any measure of mine, nothing sordid or unworthy of Athens. The same character is apparent in my home and in my foreign policy. At home, I never preferred the favor of the wealthy to the rights of the many: abroad, I valued not the presents or the friendship of Philip above the general interests of Greece.

I conceive it remains for me to speak of the proclamation and the accounts: for that I acted for the best — that I have

throughout been your friend and zealous in your service, is proved abundantly, methinks, by what I have said already. The most important part of my policy and administration I pass by, considering that I have in regular course to reply to the charge of illegality; and besides — though I am silent as to the rest of my political acts — the knowledge you all have will serve me equally well.

As to the arguments which he jumbled together about the counter-written laws, I hardly suppose you comprehend them — I myself could not understand the greater part. However I shall argue a just case in a straightforward way. So far from saying that I am not accountable, as the prosecutor just now falsely asserted, I acknowledge that I am all my life accountable for what as your statesman I have undertaken or advised; but for what I have voluntarily given to the people out of my own private fortune, I deny that I am any day accountable,— do you hear, Æschines? — nor is any other man, let him even be one of the nine archons. For what law is so full of injustice and inhumanity as to enact that one who has given of his private means and done an act of generosity and munificence, instead of having thanks, shall be brought before malignants, appointed to be the auditors of his liberality? None. If he says there is, let him produce it, and I will be content and hold my tongue. But there is none, men of Athens. The prosecutor in his malice, because I gave some of my own money when I superintended the theoric fund, says, "The council praised him before he had rendered his account." Not for any matters of which I had an account to render, but for what I spent of my own, you malignant!

"Oh, but you were a Conservator of Walls!" says he. Yes; and for that reason was I justly praised, because I gave the sums expended and did not charge them. A charge requires auditing and examiners; a donation merits thanks and praise; therefore the defendant made this motion in my favor.

That this is a settled principle in your hearts as well as in the laws, I can show by many proofs easily. First, Nausicles has often been crowned by you for what he expended out of his own funds while he was general. Secondly, Diotimus was crowned for his present of shields; and Charidemus too. Again, Neoptolemus here, superintendent of divers works, has been honored for his donations. It would, indeed, be cruel if a man holding an

office should either, by reason of his office, be precluded from giving his own money to the state, or have, instead of receiving thanks, to render an account of what he gave. To prove the truth of my statements, take and read me the original decrees made in favor of these men.

A DECREE

"Archon, Demonicus of Phlyus. On the twenty-sixth of Boedromion, with the sanction of the council and people, Callias of Phrearrii moved: That the council and people resolve to crown Nausicles, general of foot, for that, there being two thousand Athenian troops of the line in Imbrus, for the defense of the Athenian residents in that island, and Philo of the Finance Department being by reason of storms unable to sail and pay the troops, he advanced money of his own and did not ask the people for it again; and that the crown be proclaimed at the Dionysian festival, at the new tragedies."

ANOTHER DECREE

"Callias of Phrearrii moved, the presidents declaring it to be with the sanction of the council: Whereas Charidemus, general of foot, having been sent to Salamis, he and Diotimus, general of horse, after certain of the troops had in the skirmish by the river been disarmed by the enemy, did at their own expense arm the young men with eight hundred shields: It hath been resolved by the council and people to crown Charidemus and Diotimus with a golden crown, and to proclaim it at the great Panathenaic festival, during the gymnastic contest, and at the Dionysian festival, at the exhibition of the new tragedies: the proclamation to be given in charge to the judges, the presidents, and the prize masters."

Each of these men, Æschines, was accountable for the office which he held, but not accountable for the matters in respect of which he was crowned. No more then am I; for surely I have the same rights, under the same circumstances, as other men. Have I given money? I am praised for that, not being accountable for what I gave. Did I hold office? Yes; and I have rendered an account of my official acts, not of my bounties. Oh, but I was guilty of malpractices in office! And you, present when the auditors brought me up, accused me not?

To show you that he himself bears testimony to my having been crowned for what I had no account to render of, take and read the whole decree drawn up in my favor. By the portions

of the bill which he never indicted it will appear that his prosecution is vexatious. Read.

THE DECREE

"In the archonship of Euthycles, on the twenty-second of Pyanepsion, in the presidency of the Œneian tribe, Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes of Anaphlystus, moved: Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, having been superintendent of the repair of the walls, and having expended on the works three additional talents out of his own money, hath given that sum to the people; and whereas, having been appointed treasurer of the theoric fund, he hath given to the theoric officers of the tribes a hundred minas toward the sacrifices, the council and people of Athens have resolved to honor Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with public praise for the goodness and generosity which he has shown throughout on every occasion toward the people of Athens, and to crown him with a golden crown, and to proclaim the crown in the theatre, at the Dionysian festival, at the performance of the new tragedies: the proclamation to be given in charge to the prize master."

These were my donations; none of which have you indicted; the rewards which the council says I deserve for them are what you arraign. To receive the gifts then you confess to be legal; the requital of them you indict for illegality. In the name of heaven! what sort of person can a monster of wickedness and malignity be, if not such a person as this?

Concerning the proclamation in the theatre, I pass over the fact that thousands of thousands have been proclaimed, and I myself have been crowned often before. But by the gods! are you so perverse and stupid, Æschines, as not to be able to reflect that the party crowned has the same glory from the crown wherever it be published, and that the proclamation is made in the theatre for the benefit of those who confer the crown? For the hearers are all encouraged to render service to the state, and praise the parties who show their gratitude more than the party crowned. Therefore has our commonwealth enacted this law. Take and read me the law itself.

THE LAW

"Whensoever any of the townships bestow crowns, proclamations thereof shall be made by them in their several townships, unless

where any are crowned by the people of Athens or the council; and it shall be lawful for them to be proclaimed in the theatre at the Dionysian festival."

Do you hear, Æschines, the law distinctly saying — "unless where any are voted by the people or the council"; such may be proclaimed? Why, then, wretched man, do you play the petti-fogger? Why manufacture arguments? Why don't you take hellebore for your malady? Are you not ashamed to bring on a cause for spite and not for any offense? to alter some laws and to garble others, the whole of which should in justice be read to persons sworn to decide according to the laws? And you that act thus describe the qualities which belong to a friend of the people, as if you had ordered a statue according to contract, and received it without having what the contract required; or as if friends of the people were known by words, and not by acts and measures! And you bawl out, regardless of decency, a sort of cart-language, applicable to yourself and your race, not to me.

Again, men of Athens, I conceive abuse to differ from accusation in this, that accusation has to do with offenses for which the laws provide penalties, abuse with the scandal which enemies speak against each other according to their humor. And I believe our ancestors built these courts, not that we should assemble you here and bring forth the secrets of private life for mutual reproach, but to give us the means of convicting persons guilty of crimes against the state. Æschines knew this as well as I, and yet he chose to rail rather than to accuse.

Even in this way he must take as much as he gives; but before I enter upon such matters, let me ask him one question — Should one call you the state's enemy or mine, Æschines? Mine, of course. Yet, where you might, for any offense which I committed, have obtained satisfaction for the people according to the laws, you neglected it — at the audit, on the indictments and other trials; but where I in my own person am safe on every account, by the laws, by time, by prescription, by many previous judgments on every point, by my never having been convicted of a public offense — and where the country must share, more or less, in the repute of measures which were her own — here it is you have encountered me. See if you are not the people's enemy, while you pretend to be mine!

Since, therefore, the righteous and true verdict is made clear to all; but I must, it seems,—though not naturally fond of railing, yet on account of the calumnies uttered by my opponent,—in reply to so many falsehoods, just mention some leading particulars concerning him, and show who he is, and from whom descended, that so readily begins using hard words—and what language he carps at, after uttering such as any decent man would have shuddered to pronounce. Why, if my accuser had been Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, or Minos, instead of a prater, a hack of the market, a pestilent scribbler, I don't think he would have spoken such things, or found such offensive terms, shouting, as in a tragedy, "O Earth! O Sun! O Virtue!" and the like; and again appealing to intelligence and education, by which the honorable is distinguished from the base:—all this you undoubtedly heard from his lips. Accursed one! What have you or yours to do with virtue? How should you discern what is honorable or otherwise? How were you ever qualified? What right have you to talk about education? Those who really possess it would never say as much of themselves, but rather blush if another did: those who are destitute like you, but make pretensions to it from stupidity, annoy the hearers by their talk, without getting the reputation which they desire.

I am at no loss for materials concerning you and your family, but am in doubt what to mention first—whether how your father Tromes, being servant to Elpias, who kept a reading-school in the temple of Theseus, wore a weight of fetters and a collar; or how your mother, by her morning spousals in the cottage by Hero Calamites, reared up you, the beautiful statue, the eminent third-rate actor!

But all know without my telling these things; or how the galley piper Phormio, the slave of Dion of Phrearrii, removed her from that honorable employment. But, by Jupiter and the gods! I fear, in saying what is proper about you, I may be thought to have chosen topics unbecoming to myself. All this, therefore, I shall pass by, and commence with the acts of his own life; for, indeed, he came not of common parents, but of such as are execrated by the people. Very lately,—lately do I say?—it is but yesterday that he has become both an Athenian and an orator—adding two syllables, he converted his father from Tromes to Atrometus, and dignified his mother by the name of Glaucothea, who (as every one knows) was called Em-

pusa; having got that title (it is plain) from her doing and submitting to anything — how else could she have got it? However, you are so ungrateful and wicked by nature, that after being raised through the people from servitude to freedom, from beggary to affluence, instead of returning their kindness, you work against them as a hireling politician.

Of the speeches, which it may possibly be contended he has made for the good of the country, I will say nothing: of the acts which he was clearly proved to have done for the enemy, I will remind you.

What man present but knows of the outcast Antiphon, who came into the city under promise to Philip that he would burn your arsenal? I found him concealed in Piræus, and brought him before the Assembly; when this mischief-maker, shouting and clamoring that it was monstrous in a free state that I should ill-treat unfortunate citizens, and enter houses without warrant, procured his release. And had not the Council of Areopagus, discovering the fact, and perceiving your ill-timed error, made search after the man, seized and brought him before you, a fellow like that would have been rescued, would have slipped through the hands of justice, and been sent out of the way by this declaimer. As it was, you put him to torture and to death, as you ought this man also. The Council of Areopagus were informed what Æschines had done, and therefore, though you had elected him for your advocate on the question of the Delian temple, in the same ignorance by which you have sacrificed many of the public interests, as you referred the matter to the council, and gave them full powers, they immediately removed him for his treason, and appointed Hyperides to plead; for which purpose they took their ballots from the altar, and not a single ballot was given for this wretch. To prove the truth of my statements, call me the witnesses.

WITNESSES

We, Callias of Sunium, Zenon of Phlyus, Cleon of Phalerum, Demonicus of Marathon, testify for Demosthenes in the name of all, that, the people having formerly elected Æschines for their advocate before the Amphictyons on the question of the Delian temple, we in council determined that Hyperides was more worthy to plead on behalf of the state, and Hyperides was commissioned.»

Thus, by removing this man when he was about to plead, and appointing another, the council pronounced him a traitor and an enemy.

Such is one of this boy's political acts, similar — is it not? — to what he charges me with. Now let me remind you of another. When Philip sent Python of Byzantium, together with an embassy from all his own allies, with the intention of putting our commonwealth to shame, and proving her in the wrong, then — when Python swaggered and poured a flood of abuse upon you — I neither yielded nor gave way; I rose and answered him, and betrayed not the rights of the commonwealth. So plainly did I convict Philip of injustice that his very allies rose up and acknowledged it; while Æschines fought his battle, and bore witness, aye, false witness, against his own country.

Nor was this enough. Again, some time afterward, he was found meeting Anaxinus the spy at Thraso's house. A man, I say, who had a private meeting and conference with an emissary of the foe must himself have been a spy by nature and an enemy to his country. To prove these statements, call me the witnesses.

WITNESSES

"Teledemus, son of Cleon, Hyperides, son of Callæschrus, Nicomechus, son of Diophantus, testify for Demosthenes, as they swore before the generals, that Æschines, son of Atrometus of Cothocidæ, did, to their knowledge, meet by night in Thraso's house, and confer with Anaxinus, who was adjudged to be a spy of Philip. These depositions were returned before Nicias, on the third of Hecatombæon."

A vast deal besides that I could say about him I omit. For thus (methinks) it is. I could produce many more such cases, where Æschines was discovered at that period assisting the enemy and harassing me. But these things are not treasured up by you for careful remembrance or proper resentment. You have, through evil custom, given large license to any one that chooses to supplant and calumniate your honest counselors, exchanging the interest of the state for the pleasure and gratification of hearing abuse; and so it is easier and safer always to be a hireling serving your enemies than a statesman attached to you.

That he should co-operate openly with Philip before the war was shocking — O heaven and earth! could it be otherwise? — against his country! Yet allow him if you please, allow him

this. But when the ships had openly been made prize, Chersonesus was ravaged, the man was marching against Attica, matters were no longer doubtful, war had begun — nothing that he ever did for you can this malicious iambic-mouther show — not a resolution has Æschines, great or small, concerning the interests of the state. If he assert it, let him prove it now while my water-glass is running. But there is none. He is reduced to an alternative; either he had no fault to find with my measures and therefore moved none against them, or he sought the good of the enemy and therefore would not propose any better.

Did he abstain from speaking as well as moving when any mischief was to be done to you? Why, no one else could speak a word. Other things, it appears, the country could endure, and he could accomplish without detection; but one last act he achieved, O Athenians, which crowned all he had done before; on which he lavished that multitude of words, recounting the decrees against the Amphissian Locrians in hopes of distorting the truth. But the thing admits it not. No! never will you wash yourself clean from your performances there — talk as long as you will!

In your presence, men of Athens, I invoke all the gods and goddesses to whom the Attic territory belongs, and Pythian Apollo, the father god of our State; and I implore them all! As I shall declare the truth to you, as I declared it in your assembly at the time, the very moment I saw this wretch putting his hand to the work,— for I perceived, instantly perceived it,— so may they grant me favor and protection! If from malice or personal rivalry I bring a false charge against my opponent, may they cut me off from every blessing!

But wherefore this imprecation, this solemn assurance? Because, though I have documents lying in the public archives, from which I shall clearly prove my assertions, though I know you remember the facts, I fear this man may be considered unequal to the mischiefs which he has wrought; as before happened, when he caused the destruction of the unhappy Phocians by his false reports to you.

The Amphissian war, I say,— which brought Philip to Elatea, which caused him to be chosen general of the Amphictyons, which ruined everything in Greece,— was this man's contrivance. He is the single author of all our heaviest calamities. I protested at the time, and cried out in the assembly: "You are

bringing a war, Æschines, into Attica, an Amphictyonic war"— but his packed party would not let me be heard; the rest wondered, and supposed that I was bringing an idle charge against him out of personal enmity. However, the real character of those transactions, the purpose for which they were got up, the manner in which they were accomplished, hear ye now, men of Athens, as ye were prevented then. You will see that the thing was well concerted, and it will help you much to get a knowledge of public affairs, and what craftiness there was in Philip you will observe.

Philip could neither finish nor get rid of the war with Athens, unless he made the Thebans and Thessalians her enemies. Though your generals fought against him without fortune or skill, yet from the war itself and the cruisers he suffered infinite damage. He could neither export any of the produce of his country, nor import what he needed. He was not then superior to you at sea, nor able to reach Attica, unless the Thessalians followed him and the Thebans gave him a passage; so that, while he overcame in war the generals whom you sent out,— such as they were — I say nothing about that,— he found himself distressed by the difference of your local position and means. Should he urge either Thessalians or Thebans to march in his own quarrel against you, none, he thought, would attend to him: but should he, under the pretense of taking up their common cause, be elected general, he trusted partly by deceit and partly by persuasion to gain his ends more easily. He sets to work therefore — observe how cleverly — to get the Amphictyons into a war and create a disturbance in the congress. For this he thought they would immediately want him. Now, if any of the presbyters commissioned by himself or any of his allies brought it forward, he imagined that both Thebans and Thessalians would suspect the thing and would all be on their guard; whereas, if the agent were an Athenian and commissioned by you his opponents, it would easily pass unnoticed. And thus it turned out.

How did he effect his purpose? He hires the prosecutor. No one (I believe) was aware of the thing or attending to it, and so — just as these things are usually done at Athens — Æschines was proposed for Pylæan deputy, three or four held up their hands for him, and his election was declared. When clothed with the dignity of the state he arrived among the Amphictyons, dismissing and disregarding all besides, he hastened to execute what

he was hired for. He makes up a pretty speech and story, showing how the Cirrhæan plain came to be consecrated; reciting this to the presbyters, men unused to speeches and unsuspicious of any consequences, he procures a vote from them to walk round the district, which the Amphissians maintained they had a right to cultivate, but which he charged to be parcel of the sacred plain. The Locrians were not then instituting any suit against us, or any such proceeding as Æschines now falsely alleges. This will show you it was impossible (I fancy) for the Locrians to carry on process against our commonwealth without a citation. Who summoned us then? In whose archonship? Say who knows —point him out. You cannot. Your pretense was flimsy and false.

When the Amphictyons at the instance of this man walked over the plain, the Locrians fell upon them and well-nigh speared them all; some of the presbyters they carried off captive. Complaints having followed, and war being stirred up against the Amphyssians, at first Cottyphus led an army composed entirely of Amphictyons; but as some never came, and those that came did nothing, measures were taken against the ensuing congress by an instructed gang, the old traitors of Thessaly and other States, to get the command for Philip. And they had found a fair pretext: for it was necessary, they said, either to subsidize themselves and maintain a mercenary force and fine all recusants, or to elect him. What need of many words? He was thereupon chosen general; and immediately afterward collecting an army, and marching professedly against Cirrha, he bids a long farewell to the Cirrhæans and Locrians, and seizes Elatea. Had not the Thebans, upon seeing this, immediately changed their minds and sided with us, the whole thing would have fallen like a torrent upon our country. As it was, they for the instant stopped him; chiefly, O Athenians, by the kindness of some divinity to Athens, but secondly, as far as it could depend on a single man, through me. Give me those decrees, and the dates of the several transactions, that you may know what mischief this pestilent creature has stirred up with impunity. Read me the decrees.

THE DECREE OF THE AMPHICTYONS

«In the priesthood of Clinagoras, at the spring congress, it hath been resolved by the deputies and councilors of the Amphictyons,

and by the assembly of the Amphictyons, seeing that the Amphissians trespass upon the sacred plain and sow and depasture it with cattle, that the deputies and councilors do enter thereupon and define the boundaries with pillars, and enjoin the Amphissians not to trespass for the future.»

ANOTHER DECREE

«In the priesthood of Clinagoras, at the spring congress, it hath been resolved by the deputies and councilors of the Amphictyons and by the assembly of the Amphictyons, seeing that the people of Amphissa have partitioned among themselves the sacred plain and cultivate and feed cattle upon the same, and on being interrupted have come in arms, and with force resisted the general council of the Greeks, and have wounded some of them; that Cottyphus, the Arcadian, who hath been elected general of the Amphictyons, be sent embassador to Philip of Macedon, and do request him to come to the aid of Apollo and the Amphictyons, that he may not suffer the god to be insulted by the impious Amphissians; and do announce that the Greeks who are members of the Amphictyonic Council appoint him general with absolute powers.»

Now read the dates of these transactions. They correspond with the time when Æschines was deputy. Read.

DATES

«Mnesithides archon, on the sixteenth of the month Anthesterion.»

Now give me the letter which, when the Thebans would not hearken to Philip, he sends to his allies in Peloponnesus, that you may plainly see even from this how the true motives of his enterprise, his designs against Greece and the Thebans and yourselves were concealed by him, while he affected to be taking measures for the common good under a decree of the Amphictyons. The man who furnished him with these handles and pretexts was Æschines. Read.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

«Philip, King of Macedon, to the magistrates and councilors of the confederate Peloponnesians and to all the other allies greeting. Whereas, the Locrians surnamed Ozolian, dwelling in Amphissa, commit sacrilege against the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and coming with arms despoil the sacred plain, I propose, with your assistance,

to avenge the god, and to chastise people who violate any part of our recognized religion. Wherefore meet me with arms in Phocis, bringing provisions for forty days, in the ensuing month of Lous, as we style it, Boedromion as the Athenians Panemus as the Corinthians. Those who do not meet us with all their forces, we shall visit with punishment. Farewell."

You see, he avoids all private pleas and has recourse to an Amphictyonic. Who was it, I say, that helped him to this contrivance — that lent him these excuses? Who is most to blame for the misfortunes which have happened? Surely Æschines. Then go not about saying, "O Athenians, that one man has inflicted these calamities on Greece!" Heaven and earth! It was not a single man, but a number of miscreants in every state. Æschines was one of them; and, were I obliged to speak the truth without reserve, I should not hesitate to call him the common pest of all that have since been ruined, men, places, cities: for whoever supplies the seed, to him the crop is owing. I marvel, indeed, you turned not your faces away the moment you beheld him. But there is a thick darkness, it seems, between you and the truth.

The mention of this man's treasonable acts brings me to the part which I have myself taken in opposition to him. It is fair you should hear my account of it for many reasons, but chiefly, men of Athens, because it would be a shame, when I have undergone the toil of exertions on your behalf, that you should not endure the bare recital of them.

When I saw that the Thebans, and I may add the Athenians, were so led away by Philip's partisans and the corrupt men of either state, as to disregard and take no precaution against a danger which menaced both and required the utmost precaution (I mean the suffering Philip's power to increase), and were readily disposed to enmity and strife with each other, I was constantly watchful to prevent it, not only because in my own judgment I deemed such vigilance expedient, but knowing that Aristophon, and again Eubulus, had all along desired to bring about that union, and, while they were frequently opposed upon other matters, were always agreed upon this. Men whom in their lifetime — you reptile! — you pestered with flattery, yet see not that you are accusing them in their graves; for the Theban policy that you reproach me with is a charge less affecting me than them who approved that alliance before I did. But I must

return. I say, when Æschines had excited the war in Amphissa, and his coadjutors had helped to establish enmity with Thebes, Philip marched against us,— that was the object for which these persons embroiled the states,— and had we not roused up a little in time we could never have recovered ourselves; so far had these men carried matters. In what position you then stood to each other, you will learn from the recital of these decrees and answers. Here, take and read them.

DECREE

«In the archonship of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth of the month Elaphebolion, in the presidency of the Erechtheian tribe, by the advice of the council and the generals: Whereas Philip hath taken possession of certain neighboring cities, and is besieging others, and finally is preparing to advance against Attica, setting our treaty at nought, and designs to break his oaths and the peace in violation of our common engagements: the council and people have resolved to send unto him embassadors, who shall confer with him, and exhort him above all to maintain his relations of amity with us and his convention, or if not, to give time to the Commonwealth for deliberation, and conclude an armistice until the month Thargelion. These have been chosen from the council: Simus of Anagyrus, Euthydemus of Phlyus, Bulagoras of Alopece.»

ANOTHER DECREE

«In the archonship of Heropythus, on the last day of the month Munychion, by the advice of the Polemarch: Whereas Philip designs to put the Thebans at variance with us, and hath prepared to advance with his whole army to the places nearest to Attica, violating the engagements that subsist between us, the council and people have resolved to send unto him a herald and embassadors, who shall request and call upon him to conclude an armistice, so that the people may take measures according to circumstances; for now they do not purpose to march out in the event of anything reasonable. Nearchus, son of Sosinomus and Polycrates, son of Epiphron, have been chosen from the council; and for herald, Eunomus of Anaphlystus from the people.»

Now read the answers:—

TO THE ATHENIANS

«Philip, King of Macedon, to the Council and People of Athens, greeting. Of the part which you have taken in reference to me

from the beginning I am not ignorant, nor what exertions you are making to gain over the Thessalians and Thebans, and also the Bœotians. Since they are more prudent and will not submit their choice to your dictation, but stand by their own interest, you shift your ground, and, sending embassadors and a herald to me, you talk of engagements and ask for an armistice, although I have given you no offense. However, I have given audience to your embassadors, and I agree to your request and am ready to conclude an armistice if you will dismiss your evil counselors and degrade them as they deserve. Farewell.»

TO THE THEBANS

«Philip, King of Macedon, to the Council and People of Thebes, greeting. I have received your letter wherein you renew peace and amity with me. I am informed, however, that the Athenians are most earnestly soliciting you to accept their overtures. I blamed you at first for being inclined to put faith in their promises and to espouse their policy. But since I have discovered that you would rather maintain peace with me than follow the counsels of others, I praise you the more on divers accounts, but chiefly because you have consulted in this business for your safety, and preserve your attachment to me, which I trust will be of no small moment to you if you persevere in that determination. Farewell.»

Philip having thus disposed the States toward each other by his contrivances, and being elated by these decrees and answers, came with his army and seized Elatea, confident that, happen what might, you and the Thebans could never again unite. What commotion there was in the city you all know; but let me just mention the most striking circumstances.

It was evening. A person came with a message to the presidents, that Elatea was taken. They rose from supper immediately, drove off the people from their market-stalls, and set fire to the wicker-frames; others sent for the generals and called the trumpeter, and the city was full of commotion. The next morning at daybreak the presidents summoned the council to their hall, and you went to the assembly, and before they could introduce or prepare the question, the whole people were up in their seats. When the council had entered, and the presidents had reported their intelligence and presented the courier, and he had made his statement, the crier asked: «Who wishes to speak?» and no one came forward. The crier put the question repeatedly — still no man rose, though all the generals were present and all the

orators, and our country with her common voice called for some one to speak and save her — for when the crier raises his voice according to law, it may justly be deemed the common voice of our country. If those of greatest wealth, the three hundred — if those who were both friendly to the state and wealthy, the men who afterward gave such ample donations; for patriotism and wealth produced the gift, — if those who desired the salvation of Athens were the proper parties to come forward, all of you and the other Athenians would have risen and mounted the platform; for I am sure you all desired her salvation. But that occasion, that day, as it seems, called not only for a patriot and a wealthy man, but for one who had closely followed the proceedings from their commencement, and rightly calculated for what object and purpose Philip carried them on. A man who was ignorant of these matters, or had not long and carefully studied them, let him be ever so patriotic or wealthy, would neither see what measures were needful, nor be competent to advise you.

Well, then, I was the man called for upon that day. I came forward and addressed you. What I said I beg you for two reasons attentively to hear; firstly, to be convinced that of all your orators and statesmen I alone deserted not the patriot's post in the hour of danger, but was found in the very moment of panic speaking and moving what your necessities required; secondly, because at the expense of a little time you will gain large experience for the future in all your political concerns.

I said those who were in such alarm under the idea that Philip had got the Thebans with him did not, in my opinion, understand the position of affairs; for I was sure, had that really been so, we should have heard not of his being at Elatea, but upon our frontiers; he was come, however, I knew for certain, to make all right for himself in Thebes. "Let me inform you," said I, "how the matter stands. All the Thebans whom it was possible either to bribe or deceive he has at his command; those who have resisted him from the first, and still oppose him, he can in no way prevail upon; what, then, is his meaning and why has he seized upon Elatea? He means, by displaying a force in the neighborhood, and bringing up his troops, to encourage and embolden his friends, to intimidate his adversaries, that they may either concede from fear what they now refuse, or be compelled. Now," said I, "if we determine on the present occasion to remember any unkindness which the Thebans have done us, and to

regard them in the character of enemies with distrust, in the first place, we shall be doing just what Philip would desire; in the next place, I fear his present adversaries embracing his friendship and all Philippizing with one consent, they will both march against Attica. But if you will hearken to me, and be pleased to examine (not cavil at) what I say, I believe it will meet your approval, and I shall dispel the danger impending over Athens. What, then, do I advise? First, away with your present fear; and rather fear all of ye for the Thebans; they are nearer harm than we are; to them the peril is more immediate. Next, I say, march to Eleusis, all the fighting men and the cavalry, and show yourselves to the world in arms, that your partisans in Thebes may have equal liberty to speak up for the good cause, knowing that as the faction who sell their country to Philip have an army to support them at Elatea, so the party that will contend for freedom have your assistance at hand if they be assailed.

"Further, I recommend you to elect ten embassadors and empower them in conjunction with the generals to fix the time for going there and for the out-march. When the embassadors have arrived at Thebes, how do I advise that you should treat the matter? Pray attend particularly to this. Ask nothing of the Thebans (it would be dishonorable at this time); but offer to assist them if they require it, on the plea that they are in extreme danger, and we see the future better than they do. If they accept this offer and hearken to our counsels, so shall we have accomplished what we desire, and our conduct will look worthy of the state; should we miscarry, they will have themselves to blame for any error committed now, and we shall have done nothing dishonorable or mean."

This and more to the like effect I spoke and left the platform. It was approved by all; not a word was said against me. Nor did I make the speech without moving, nor make the motion without undertaking the embassy, nor undertake the embassy without prevailing on the Thebans. From the beginning to the end, I went through it all; I gave myself entirely to your service to meet the dangers which encompassed Athens.

Produce me the decree which then passed. Now, Æschines, how would you have me describe you, and how myself, upon that day? Shall I call myself Batalus, your nickname of reproach, and you not even a hero of the common sort, but one of those upon the stage, Cresphontes or Creon, or the Œnomaus

whom you execrably murdered once at Colyttus? Well, upon that occasion, I, the Batalus of Pæania, was more serviceable to the state than you, the Œnomaus of Cothocidæ. You were of no earthly use; I did everything which became a good citizen. Read the decree.

THE DECREE OF DEMOSTHENES

"In the archonship of Nausicles, in the presidency of the Æantian tribe, on the sixteenth of Scirophorion, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, moved: Whereas, Philip, King of Macedon, hath in time past been violating the treaty of peace made between him and the Athenian people, in contempt of his oaths and those laws of justice which are recognized among all the Greeks, and hath been annexing unto himself cities that no way belong to him, and hath besieged and taken some which belong to the Athenians without any provocation by the people of Athens, and at the present time he is making great advances in cruelty and violence, forasmuch as in certain Greek cities he puts garrisons and overturns their constitution, some he razes to the ground and sells the inhabitants for slaves, in some he replaces a Greek population with barbarians, giving them possession of the temples and sepulchres, acting in no way foreign to his own country or character, making an insolent use of his present fortune, and forgetting that from a petty and insignificant person he has come to be unexpectedly great; and the people of Athens, so long as they saw him annexing barbarian or private cities of their own, less seriously regarded the offense given to themselves, but now that they see Greek cities outraged and some destroyed, they think it would be monstrous and unworthy of their ancestral glory to look on while the Greeks are enslaved:

"Therefore it is resolved by the council and people of Athens, that having prayed and sacrificed to the gods and heroes who protect the Athenian city and territory, bearing in mind the virtue of their ancestors, who deemed it of greater moment to preserve the liberty of Greece than their own country, they will put two hundred ships to sea, and their admiral shall sail up into the straits of Thermopylæ, and their general and commander of horse shall march with the infantry and cavalry to Eleusis, and embassadors shall be sent to the other Greeks, and first of all to the Thebans, because Philip is nearest their territory, and shall exhort them without dread of Philip to maintain their own independence and that of Greece at large, and assure them that the Athenian people, not remembering any variance which has formerly arisen between the countries, will assist them with troops and money and weapons and arms, feeling that for them

(being Greeks) to contend among themselves for the leadership is honorable, but to be commanded and deprived of the leadership by a man of foreign extraction is derogatory to the renown of the Greeks and the virtue of their ancestors: further, the people of Athens do not regard the people of Thebes as aliens either in blood or race; they remember also the benefits conferred by their ancestors upon the ancestors of the Thebans; for they restored the children of Hercules who were kept by the Peloponnesians out of their hereditary dominion, defeating in battle those who attempted to resist the descendants of Hercules; and we gave shelter to Œdipus and his comrades in exile; and many other kind and generous acts have been done by us to the Thebans: wherefore now also the people of Athens will not desert the interests of the Thebans and the other Greeks: And let a treaty be entered into with them for alliance and intermarriage, and oaths be mutually exchanged. Embassadors: Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, Hyperides, son of Cleander of Spettus, Mnesithides, son of Antiphanes of Phrearrii, Democrates, son of Sophilus of Phlyus, Callæschrus, son of Diotimus of Cothocidæ.»

That was the commencement and first step in the negotiation with Thebes: before then the countries had been led by these men into discord and hatred and jealousy. That decree caused the peril which then surrounded us to pass away like a cloud. It was the duty of a good citizen, if he had any better plan, to disclose it at the time, not to find fault now. A statesman and a pettifogger, while in no other respect are they alike, in this most widely differ. The one declares his opinion before the proceedings, and makes himself responsible to his followers, to fortune, to the times, to all men: the other is silent when he ought to speak; at any untoward event he grumbles.

Now, as I said before, the time for a man who regarded the commonwealth, and for honest counsel, was then: however, I will go to this extent—if any one now can point out a better course, or, indeed, if any other were practicable but the one which I adopted, I confess that I was wrong. For if there be any measure now discovered, which (executed then) would have been to our advantage, I say it ought not to have escaped me. But if there is none, if there was none, if none can be suggested even at this day, what was a statesman to do? Was he not to choose the best measures within his reach and view? That did I, Æschines, when the crier asked, «Who wishes to speak?»—not, «Who wishes to complain about the past or to guarantee the future?»

While you on those occasions sat mute in the assembly, I came forward and spake. However, as you omitted then, tell us now. Say, what scheme that I ought to have devised, what favorable opportunity was lost to the state by my neglect? — what alliance was there, what better plan, to which I should have directed the people? But no! The past is with all the world given up; no one even proposes to deliberate about it: the future it is, or the present, which demands the action of a counselor. At the time, as it appeared, there were dangers impending, and dangers at hand. Mark the line of my policy at that crisis; don't rail at the event. The end of all things is what the Deity pleases: his line of policy it is that shows the judgment of the statesman. Do not then impute it as a crime to me that Philip chanced to conquer in battle: that issue depended not on me, but on God. Prove that I adopted not all measures that according to human calculation were feasible — that I did not honestly and diligently and with exertions beyond my strength carry them out — or that my enterprises were not honorable and worthy of the state, and necessary. Show me this, and accuse me as soon as you like. But if the hurricane that visited us hath been too powerful, not for us only, but for all Greece besides, what is the fair course? As if a merchant, after taking every precaution, and furnishing his vessel with everything that he thought would insure her safety, because afterward he met with a storm and his tackle was strained or broken to pieces, should be charged with the shipwreck! "Well, but I was not the pilot," he might say, just as I was not the general. "Fortune was not under my control: all was under hers."

Consider and reflect upon this — If, with the Thebans on our side, we were destined so to fare in the contest, what was to be expected, if we had never had them for allies, but they had joined Philip, as he used every effort of persuasion to make them do? And if, when the battle was fought three days' march from Attica, such peril and alarm surrounded the city, what must we have expected, if the same disaster had happened in some part of our territory? As it was (do you see?) we could stand, meet, breathe; mightily did one, two, three days, help to our preservation: in the other case — but it is wrong to mention things of which we have been spared the trial by the favor of some deity, and by our protecting ourselves with the very alliance which you assail.

All this, at such length, have I addressed to you, men of the jury, and to the outer circle of hearers; for, as to this contemptible fellow, a short and plain argument would suffice.

If the future was revealed to you, Æschines, alone, when the state was deliberating on these proceedings, you ought to have forewarned us at the time. If you did not foresee it, you are responsible for the same ignorance as the rest. Why, then, do you accuse me in this behalf, rather than I you? A better citizen have I been than you in respect of the matters of which I am speaking (others I discuss not at present), inasmuch as I gave myself up to what seemed for the general good, not shrinking from any personal danger, nor taking thought of any; while you neither suggested better measures (or mine would not have been adopted), nor lent any aid in the prosecuting of mine: exactly what the basest person and worst enemy of the state would do, are you found to have done after the event; and at the same time Aristratus in Naxos and Aristolaus in Thasos, the deadly foes of our state, are bringing to trial the friends of Athens, and Æschines at Athens is accusing Demosthenes. Surely the man who waited to found his reputation upon the misfortunes of the Greeks deserves rather to perish than to accuse another; nor is it possible that one who has profited by the same conjunctures as the enemies of the commonwealth can be a well-wisher of his country. You show yourself by your life and conduct, by your political action, and even your political inaction. Is anything going on that appears good for the people? Æschines is mute. Has anything untoward happened or amiss? Forth comes Æschines; just as fractures and sprains are put in motion, when the body is attacked by disease.

But since he insists so strongly on the event, I will even assert something of a paradox: and I beg and pray of you not to marvel at its boldness, but kindly to consider what I say. If, then, the results had been foreknown to all, if all had foreseen them, and you, Æschines, had foretold them and protested with clamor and outcry,—you that never opened your mouth,—not even then should the commonwealth have abandoned her design, if she had any regard for glory, or ancestry, or futurity. As it is, she appears to have failed in her enterprise, a thing to which all mankind are liable, if the Deity so wills it: but then—claiming precedency over others, and afterward abandoning her pretensions—she would have incurred the charge of betraying all

to Philip. Why, had we resigned without a struggle that which our ancestors encountered every danger to win, who would not have spit upon you? Let me not say, the commonwealth or myself! With what eyes, I pray, could we have beheld strangers visiting the city, if the result had been what it is, and Philip had been chosen leader and lord of all, but other people without us had made the struggle to prevent it; especially when in former times our country had never preferred an ignominious security to the battle for honor? For what Grecian or what barbarian is ignorant that by the Thebans, or by the Lacedæmonians who were in might before them, or by the Persian king, permission would thankfully and gladly have been given to our commonwealth, to take what she pleased and hold her own, provided she would accept foreign law and let another power command in Greece?

But, as it seems, to the Athenians of that day such conduct would not have been national, or natural, or endurable; none could at any period of time persuade the commonwealth to attach herself in secure subjection to the powerful and unjust: through every age has she persevered in a perilous struggle for precedency and honor and glory. And this you esteem so noble and congenial to your principles that among your ancestors you honor most those who acted in such a spirit; and with reason. For who would not admire the virtue of those men who resolutely embarked in their galleys and quitted country and home rather than receive foreign law, choosing Themistocles who gave such counsel for their general, and stoning Cyrsilus to death who advised submission to the terms imposed — not him only, but your wives also stoning his wife? Yes, the Athenians of that day looked not for an orator or a general who might help them to a pleasant servitude; they scorned to live, if it could not be with freedom. For each of them considered that he was not born to his father or mother only, but also to his country. What is the difference? He that thinks himself born for his parents only, waits for his appointed or natural end: he that thinks himself born for his country also, will sooner perish than behold her in slavery, and will regard the insults and indignities, which must be borne in a commonwealth enslaved, as more terrible than death.

Had I attempted to say that I instructed you in sentiments worthy of your ancestors, there is not a man who would not

justly rebuke me What I declare is that such principles are your own. I show that before my time such was the spirit of the commonwealth; though certainly in the execution of the particular measures I claim a share also for myself. The prosecutor, arraigning the whole proceedings, and embittering you against me as the cause of our alarms and dangers, in his eagerness to deprive me of honor for the moment, robs you of the eulogies that should endure forever. For should you, under a disbelief in the wisdom of my policy, convict the defendant, you will appear to have done wrong, not to have suffered what befell you by the cruelty of fortune. But never, never can you have done wrong, O Athenians, in undertaking the battle for the freedom and safety of all! I swear it by your forefathers — those that met the peril at Marathon, those that took the field at Platæa, those in the sea fight at Salamis, and those at Artemisium, and many other brave men who repose in the public monuments, all of whom alike, as being worthy of the same honor, the country buried, Æschines, not only the successful or victorious! Justly! For the duty of brave men has been done by all. their fortune has been such as the Deity assigned to each.

Accursed scribbler! you, to deprive me of the approbation and affection of my countrymen, speak of trophies and battles and ancient deeds, with none of which had this present trial the least concern; but I! — Oh, you third-rate actor! — I, that rose to counsel the state how to maintain her pre-eminence! in what spirit was I to mount the hustings? In the spirit of one having unworthy counsel to offer? — I should have deserved to perish! You yourselves, men of Athens, may not try private and public causes on the same principles: the compacts of every-day life you are to judge of by particular laws and circumstances; the measures of statesmen, by reference to the dignity of your ancestors And if you think it your duty to act worthily of them, you should every one of you consider, when you come into court to decide public questions, that, together with your staff and ticket, the spirit of the commonwealth is delivered to you.

But in touching upon the deeds of your ancestors, there were some decrees and transactions which I omitted. I will return from my digression.

On our arrival at Thebes, we found embassadors there from Philip, from the Thessalians and from his other allies; our friends in trepidation, his friends confident. To prove that I am not

asserting this now to serve my own purposes, read me the letter which we embassadors dispatched on the instant. So outrageous is my opponent's malignity, that, if any advantage was procured, he attributes it to the occasion, not to me; while all miscarriages he attributes to me and my fortune. And according to him, as it seems, I, the orator and adviser, have no merit in results of argument and counsel, but am the sole author of misfortunes in arms and strategy. Could there be a more brutal calumniator or a more execrable? Read the letter. [The letter is read.]

On the convening of the assembly, our opponents were introduced first, because they held the character of allies. And they came forward and spoke in high praise of Philip and disparagement of you, bringing up all the hostilities that you ever committed against the Thebans. In fine, they urged them to show their gratitude for the services done by Philip, and to avenge themselves for the injuries which you had done them, either — it mattered not which — by giving them a passage against you, or by joining in the invasion of Attica; and they proved, as they fancied, that by adopting their advice the cattle and slaves and other effects of Attica would come into Bœotia, whereas by acting as they said we should advise, Bœotia would suffer pillage through the war. And much they said besides, tending all to the same point. The reply that we made I would give my life to recapitulate, but I fear, as the occasion is past, you will look upon it as if a sort of deluge had overwhelmed the whole proceedings, and regard any talk about them as a useless troubling of you. Hear, then, what we persuaded them and what answer they returned. Take and read this: — [The answer of the Thebans is read.]

After this they invited and sent for you. You marched to their succor, and — to omit what happened between — their reception of you was so friendly, that, while their infantry and cavalry were outside the walls, they admitted your army into their houses and citadel, among their wives and children and all that was most precious. Why, upon that day three of the noblest testimonies were before all mankind borne in your favor by the Thebans, one to your courage, one to your justice, one to your good behavior. For when they preferred fighting on your side to fighting against you, they held you to be braver and juster in your demands than Philip; and when they put under your charge what they and all men are most watchful to protect, their wives

and children, they showed that they had confidence in your good behavior. In all which, men of Athens, it appeared they had rightly estimated your character. For after your forces entered the city, not so much as a groundless complaint was preferred against you by any one, so discreetly did you behave yourselves; and twice arrayed on their side in the earlier battles, that by the river and the winter battle, you proved yourselves not irreproachable only, but admirable in your discipline, your equipments, and your zeal, which called forth eulogies from other men to you, sacrifice and thanksgiving from you to the gods. And I would gladly ask Æschines — while these things were going on, and the city was full of enthusiasm and joy and praise, whether he joined with the multitude in sacrifice and festivity, or sat at home sorrowing and moaning and repining at the public success. For if he were present and appeared with the rest, is not his conduct monstrous, or rather impious, when measures, which he himself called the gods to witness were excellent, he now requires you to condemn — you that have sworn by the gods? If he were not present, does he not deserve a thousand deaths for grieving to behold what others rejoiced at? Read me now the decrees. [The decrees for sacrifice are read.]

We thus were engaged in sacrifice; the Thebans were in the assurance that they had been saved through us, and it had come about that a people, who seemed likely to want assistance through the practices of these men, were themselves assisting others in consequence of my advice which you followed. What language Philip then uttered, and in what trouble he was on this account, you shall learn from his letters which he sent to Peloponnesus. Take and read them, that the jury may know what my perseverance and journey and toils and the many decrees which this man just now pulled to pieces accomplished.

Athenians, you have had many great and renowned orators before me; the famous Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, hundreds of others; yet none of them ever thoroughly devoted himself to any measure of state; for instance, the mover of a resolution would not be embassador; the embassador would not move a resolution; each one left for himself some relief, and also, should anything happen, an excuse. How, then, it may be said, did you so far surpass others in might and boldness as to do everything yourself? I don't say that; but such was my conviction of the danger impending over us, that I considered it left

no room or thought for individual security; a man should have been only too happy to perform his duty without neglect. As to myself, I was persuaded, perhaps foolishly, yet I was persuaded, that none would move better resolutions than myself, none would execute them better, none as embassador would show more zeal and honesty. Therefore I undertook every duty myself. Read the letters of Philip. [The letters are read.]

To this did my policy, Æschines, reduce Philip. This language he uttered through me, he that before had lifted his voice so boldly against Athens! For which I was justly crowned by the people; and you were present and opposed it not, and Diondas who preferred an indictment obtained not his share of the votes. Here, read me the decrees which were then absolved, and which this man never indicted. [The decrees are read.]

These decrees, men of Athens, contain the very words and syllables which Aristonicus drew up formerly, and Ctesiphon the defendant has now. And Æschines neither arraigned these himself, nor aided the party who preferred an indictment. Yet, if his present charge against me be true, he might then have arraigned Demomeles the mover and Hyperides with more show of reason than he can the defendant. Why? Because Ktesiphon may refer to them, and to the decisions of the courts, and to the fact of Æschines not having accused them, although they moved the same decrees which he has now, and to the laws which bar any further proceedings in such a case, and to many points besides:—whereas then the question would have been tried on its own merits, before any such advantages had been obtained. But then, I imagine, it would have been impossible to do what Æschines now does—to pick out of a multitude of old dates and decrees what no man knew before, and what no man would have expected to hear to-day, for the purpose of slander—to transpose dates and assign measures to the wrong causes instead of the right, in order to make a plausible case. That was impossible then. Every statement must have been according to the truth, soon after the facts, while you still remembered the particulars and had them almost at your fingers' ends. Therefore it was that he shunned all investigation at the time, and has come at this late period; thinking, as it appears to me, that you would make it a contest of orators, instead of an inquiry into political conduct; that words would be criticized, and not interests of state.

Then he plays the sophist, and says you ought to disregard the opinion of us which you came from home with — that, as when you audit a man's account under the impression that he has a surplus, if it cast up right and nothing remain, you allow it, so should you now accept the fair conclusion of the argument. Only see how rotten in its nature (and justly so) is every wicked contrivance! For by this very cunning simile he has now acknowledged it to be your conviction that I am my country's advocate and he is Philip's. Had not this been your opinion of each, he would not have tried to persuade you differently. That he has, however, no reasonable ground for requiring you to change your belief, I can easily show, not by casting accounts,— for that mode of reckoning applies not to measures,— but by calling the circumstances briefly to mind, taking you that hear me both for auditors and witnesses.

Through my policy which he arraigns, instead of the Thebans invading this country with Philip, as all expected, they joined our ranks and prevented him; instead of the war being in Attica, it took place seven hundred furlongs from the city on the confines of Bœotia; instead of corsairs issuing from Eubœa to plunder us, Attica was in peace on the coast-side during the whole war; instead of Philip being master of the Hellespont by taking Byzantium, the Byzantines were our auxiliaries against him. Does this computation of services, think you, resemble the casting of accounts? Or should we strike these out on a balance, and not look that they be kept in everlasting remembrance? I will not set down that of the cruelty, remarkable in cases where Philip got people all at once into his power, others have had the trial; while of the generosity, which, casting about for his future purposes, he assumed toward Athens, you have happily enjoyed the fruits. I pass that by.

Yet this I do not hesitate to say: that any one desirous of truly testing an orator, not of calumniating him, would never have made the charges that you advanced just now, inventing similes, mimicking words and gestures; (doubtless it hath determined the fortune of Greece, whether I spoke this word or that, whether I moved my hand one way or the other!) no! he would have examined the facts of the case, what means and resources our country possessed, when I entered on the administration, what, when I applied myself to it, I collected for her, and what was the condition of our adversaries. Then, if I had lessened

her resources, he would have shown me to be guilty; if I had greatly increased them, he would not have calumniated me. However, as you have declined this course, I will adopt it. See if I state the case fairly.

For resources, our country possessed the islanders,—not all, but the weakest, for neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra was with us; subsidies she had amounting to five-and-forty talents, and they were anticipated; infantry or cavalry, none besides the native. But what was most alarming and wrought most in favor of the enemy, these men had got all our neighbors to be hostile rather than friendly to us—Megarians, Thebans, Eubœans. Such were the circumstances of our state; no man can say anything to the contrary; look now at those of Philip, whom we had to contend with. In the first place, he ruled his followers with unlimited sway, the most important thing for military operations; in the next place, they had arms always in their hands; besides, he had plenty of money and did what he pleased, not giving notice by decrees, not deliberating openly, not brought to trial by calumniators, not defending indictments for illegal measures, not responsible to any one, but himself absolute master, leader, and lord of all. I, who was matched against him,—for it is right to examine this,—what had I under my control? Nothing. Public speech, for instance, the only thing open to me—even to this you invited his hirelings as well as myself; and whenever they prevailed over me (as often happened for some cause or other), your resolutions were passed for the enemy's good. Still, under these disadvantages, I got you for allies Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, Corcyræans, from whom were collected fifteen thousand mercenaries and two thousand horse, besides the national troops. Of money, too, I procured as large a contribution as possible.

If you talk about just conditions with the Thebans, Æschines, or with the Byzantines or Eubœans, or discuss now the question of equal terms, first, I say, you are ignorant that of those galleys formerly which defended Greece, being three hundred in number, our commonwealth furnished two hundred, and never (as it seemed) thought herself injured by having done so, never prosecuted those who advised it or expressed any dissatisfaction, —shame on her if she had!—but was grateful to the gods, that when a common danger beset the Greeks, she alone furnished double what the rest did for the preservation of all. Besides, it

is but a poor favor you do your countrymen by calumniating me. For what is the use of telling us now what we should have done?—Why, being in the city and present, did you not make your proposals then; if, indeed, they were practicable at a crisis when we had to accept not what we liked but what the circumstances allowed? Remember, there was one ready to bid against us, to welcome eagerly those that we rejected, and give money into the bargain.

But if I am accused for what I have actually done, how would it have been, if, through my hard bargaining, the states had gone off and attached themselves to Philip, and he had become master at the same time of Eubœa, Thebes, and Byzantium? What, think ye, these impious men would have said or done? Said doubtless, that the states were abandoned — that they wished to join us and were driven away — that he had got command of the Hellespont by the Byzantines, and become master of the corn trade of Greece — that a heavy neighbor war had by means of the Thebans been brought into Attica — that the sea had become unnavigable by the excursion of pirates from Eubœa! All this would they have said sure enough, and a great deal besides. A wicked, wicked thing, O Athenians, is a calumniator always, every way spiteful and fault-finding. But this creature is a reptile by nature, that from the beginning never did anything honest or liberal; a very ape of a tragedian, village Œnomaus, counterfeit orator! What advantage has your eloquence been to your country? Now do you speak to us about the past? As if a physician should visit his patients, and not order or prescribe anything to cure the disease, but on the death of any one, when the last ceremonies were performing, should follow him to the grave and expound, how, if the poor fellow had done this and that, he never would have died! Idiot! do you speak now?

Even the defeat — if you exult in that which should make you groan, you accursed one! — by nothing that I have done will it appear to have befallen us. Consider it thus, O Athenians. From no embassy on which I was commissioned by you did I ever come away defeated by the embassadors of Philip — neither from Thessaly, nor from Ambracia, nor from the kings of Thrace, nor from Byzantium, nor from any other place, nor on the last recent occasion from Thebes; but where his embassadors were vanquished in argument, he came with arms and carried the day. And for this you call me to account, and are not ashamed to

jeer the same person for cowardice, whom you require single-handed to overcome the might of Philip — and that too by words! For what else had I at my command? Certainly not the spirit of each individual, nor the fortune of the army, nor the conduct of the war, for which you would make me accountable; such a blunderer are you!

Yet understand me. Of what a statesman may be responsible for, I allow the utmost scrutiny; I deprecate it not. What are his functions? To observe things in the beginning, to foresee and foretell them to others — this I have done. Again, wherever he finds delays, backwardness, ignorance, jealousies, vices inherent and unavoidable in all communities, to contract them into the narrowest compass, and, on the other hand, to promote unanimity and friendship and zeal in the discharge of duty. All this, too, I have performed; and no one can discover the least neglect on my part. Ask any man by what means Philip achieved most of his successes, and you will be told by his army and by his bribing and corrupting men in power. Well; your forces were not under my command or control; so that I cannot be questioned for anything done in that department. But by refusing the price of corruption I have overcome Philip; for as the offerer of a bribe, if it be accepted, has vanquished the taker, so the person who refuses it and is not corrupted has vanquished the person offering. Therefore is the commonwealth undefeated as far as I am concerned.

These, and such as these (besides many others), are the grounds furnished by myself to justify the defendant's motion in my behalf. Those which you, my fellow-citizens, furnished, I will proceed to mention. Immediately after the battle, the people, knowing and having witnessed everything which I did, in the very midst of their alarm and terror, when it would not have been surprising if the great body of them had even treated me harshly, passed my resolutions for the safety of the country; all their measures of defense, the disposition of the garrisons, the trenches, the levies for our fortifications, were carried on under my decrees; and further, upon the election of a commissioner of grain, they chose me in preference to all. Afterward, when those who were bent to do me a mischief conspired and brought indictments, audits, impeachments, and the rest of it against me, not at first in their own persons, but in such names as they imagined would most effectually screen themselves (for you surely

know and remember that every day of that first period I was arraigned, and neither the desperation of Sosicles, nor the malignity of Philocrates, nor the madness of Diondas and Melantus, nor anything else was left untried by them against me); on all those occasions, chiefly through the gods, secondly through you and the other Athenians, I was preserved. And with justice! Yes, that is the truth, and to the honor of the juries who so conscientiously decided. Well, then; on the impeachments, when you acquitted me and gave not the prosecutors their share of the votes, you pronounced that my policy was the best; by my acquittal on the indictments, my counsels and motion were shown to be legal; by your passing of my accounts, you acknowledged my whole conduct to have been honest and incorruptible. Under these circumstances, what name could Ktesiphon with decency or justice give to my acts? [What could he give if not] that which he saw the people give, which he saw the jurors give, which he saw truth establish to the world?

Aye, says he, that was a fine thing of Cephalus, never to have been indicted. Yes, and a lucky one, too. But why should a man, who has often been charged, but never convicted of crime, be a whit the more liable to reproach? However, men of Athens, against my opponent I have a right to use the boast of Cephalus, for he never preferred or prosecuted any indictment against me; therefore I am a citizen as good as Cephalus, by his admission.

From many things one may see his unfeelingness and malignity, but especially from his discourse about fortune. For my part, I regard any one who reproaches his fellow-man with fortune as devoid of sense. He that is best satisfied with his condition, he that deems his fortune excellent, cannot be sure that it will remain so until the evening; how, then, can it be right to bring it forward, or upbraid another man with it? As Æschines, however, has on this subject (besides many others) expressed himself with insolence, look, men of Athens, and observe how much more truth and humanity there shall be in my discourse upon fortune than in his.

I hold the fortune of our commonwealth to be good, and so I find the oracles of Dodonæan Jupiter and Pythian Apollo declaring to us. The fortune of all mankind, which now prevails, I consider cruel and dreadful: for what Greek, what barbarian, has not in these times experienced a multitude of evils? That

Athens chose the noblest policy, that she fares better than those very Greeks who thought, if they abandoned us, they should abide in prosperity, I reckon as part of her good fortune: if she suffered reverses, if all happened not to us as we desired, I conceive she has had that share of the general fortune which fell to our lot. As to my fortune (personally speaking) or that of any individual among us, it should, as I conceive, be judged of in connection with personal matters. Such is my opinion upon the subject of fortune, a right and just one, as it appears to me, and I think you will agree with it. Æschines says that my individual fortune is paramount to that of the commonwealth, the small and mean to the good and great. How can this possibly be?

However, if you are determined, Æschines, to scrutinize my fortune, compare it with your own, and, if you find my fortune better than yours, cease to revile it. Look, then, from the very beginning. And I pray and entreat that I may not be condemned for bad taste. I do not think any person wise who insults poverty, or who prides himself on having been bred in affluence; but by the slander and malice of this cruel man I am forced into such a discussion, which I will conduct with all the moderation which circumstances allow.

I had the advantage, Æschines, in my boyhood, of going to proper schools and having such allowance as a boy should have who is to do nothing mean from indigence. Arrived at man's estate I lived suitably to my breeding; was choir master, ship commander, rate payer; backward in no acts of liberality, public or private, but making myself useful to the commonwealth and to my friends. When I entered upon state affairs, I chose such a line of politics that both by my country and many people of Greece I have been crowned many times, and not even you, my enemies, venture to say that the line I chose was not honorable. Such, then, has been the fortune of my life: I could enlarge upon it, but I forbear, lest what I pride myself in should give offense.

But you, the man of dignity, who spit upon others, look what sort of fortune is yours compared with mine. As a boy you were reared in abject poverty, waiting with your father on the school, grinding the ink, sponging the benches, sweeping the room, doing the duty of a menial rather than a freeman's son. After you were grown up you attended your mother's initiations, reading her books and helping in all the ceremonies; at night

wrapping the novitiates in fawn skin, swilling, purifying, and scouring them with clay and bran, raising them after the lustration, and bidding them say, "Bad I have scaped, and better I have found"; priding yourself that no one ever howled so lustily — and I believe him! for do not suppose that he who speaks so loud is not a splendid howler! In the daytime you led your noble orgiasts, crowned with fennel and poplar, through the highways, squeezing the big-cheeked serpents and lifting them over your head, and shouting Evœ Sabœ, and capering to the words Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes, saluted by the beldames as leader, conductor, chest bearer, fan bearer, and the like, getting as your reward tarts and biscuits and rolls; for which any man might well bless himself and his fortune.

When you were enrolled among your fellow-townsmen,— by what means I stop not to inquire,— when you were enrolled, however, you immediately selected the most honorable of employments, that of clerk and assistant to our petty magistrates. From this you were removed after a while, having done yourself all that you charge others with; and then, sure enough, you disgraced not your antecedents by your subsequent life, but hiring yourself to those ranting players, as they were called, Simylus and Socrates, you acted third parts, collecting figs and grapes and olives like a fruiterer from other men's farms, and getting more from them than from the playing, in which the lives of your whole company were at stake, for there was an implacable and incessant war between them and the audience, from whom you received so many wounds, that no wonder you taunt as cowards people inexperienced in such encounters.

But passing over what may be imputed to poverty, I will come to the direct charges against your character. You espoused such a line of politics (when at last you thought of taking to them), that, if your country prospered, you lived the life of a hare, fearing and trembling and ever expecting to be scourged for the crimes of which your conscience accused you, though all have seen how bold you were during the misfortunes of the rest. A man who took courage at the death of a thousand citizens — what does he deserve at the hands of the living? A great deal more that I could say about him I shall omit; for it is not all I can tell of his turpitude and infamy which I ought to let slip from my tongue, but only what is not disgraceful to myself to mention.

Contrast now the circumstances of your life and mine, gently and with temper, Æschines, and then ask these people whose fortune they would each of them prefer. You taught reading, I went to school; you performed initiations, I received them; you danced in the chorus, I furnished it; you were assembly clerk, I was a speaker; you acted third parts, I heard you; you broke down, and I hissed; you have worked as a statesman for the enemy, I for my country. I pass by the rest; but this very day I am on my probation for a crown, and am acknowledged to be innocent of all offense, while you are already judged to be a pettifogger, and the question is, whether you shall continue that trade or at once be silenced by not getting a fifth part of the votes. A happy fortune, do you see, you have enjoyed, that you should denounce mine as miserable!

Come, now, let me read the evidence to the jury of public services which I have performed. And by way of comparison do you recite me the verses which you murdered:—

"From Hades and the dusky realms I come."

And

"Ill news, believe me, I am loth to bear."

Ill betide thee, say I, and may the gods, or at least the Athenians, confound thee for a vile citizen and a vile third-rate actor!

Read the evidence. [The evidence is read.]

Such has been my character in political matters. In private, if you do not all know that I have been liberal and humane and charitable to the distressed, I am silent; I will say not a word; I will offer no evidence on the subject, either of persons whom I ransomed from the enemy, or of persons whose daughters I helped to portion, or anything of the kind. For this is my maxim. I hold that the party receiving an obligation should ever remember it, the party conferring should forget it immediately, if the one is to act with honesty, the other without meanness. To remind and speak of your own bounties is next door to reproaching. I will not act so; nothing shall induce me. Whatever my reputation is in these respects, I am content with it.

I will have done then with private topics, but say another word or two upon public. If you can mention, Æschines, a single man under the sun, whether Greek or barbarian, who has not suffered by Philip's power formerly and Alexander's now,

well and good; I concede to you that my fortune, or misfortune (if you please), has been the cause of everything. But if many that never saw me or heard my voice have been grievously afflicted, not individuals only but whole cities and nations, how much juster and fairer is it to consider that to the common fortune apparently of all men, to a tide of events overwhelming and lamentable, these disasters are to be attributed. You, disregarding all this, accuse me whose ministry has been among my countrymen, knowing all the while that a part (if not the whole) of your calumny falls upon the people, and yourself in particular. For if I assumed the sole and absolute direction of our counsels, it was open to you, the other speakers, to accuse me; but if you were constantly present in all the assemblies, if the State invited public discussion of what was expedient, and if these measures were then believed by all to be the best, and especially by you (for certainly from no good-will did you leave me in possession of hopes and admiration and honors, all of which attended on my policy, but doubtless because you were compelled by the truth and had nothing better to advise); is it not iniquitous and monstrous to complain now of measures, than which you could suggest none better at the time?

Among all other people I find these principles in a manner defined and settled — Does a man willfully offend? He is the object of wrath and punishment. Hath a man erred unintentionally? There is pardon instead of punishment for him. Has a man devoted himself to what seemed for the general good, and without any fault or misconduct been in common with all disappointed of success? Such a one deserves not obloquy or reproach, but sympathy. These principles will not be found in our statutes only; Nature herself has defined them by her unwritten laws and the feelings of humanity. Æschines, however, has so far surpassed all men in brutality and malignity, that even things which he cited himself as misfortunes he imputes to me as crimes.

And besides,— as if he himself had spoken everything with candor and good-will,— he told you to watch me, and mind that I did not cajole and deceive you, calling me a great orator, a juggler, a sophist, and the like: as though, if a man say of another what applies to himself, it must be true, and the hearers are not to inquire who the person is that makes the charge. Certain am I that you are all acquainted with my opponent's

character, and believe these charges to be more applicable to him than to me. And of this I am sure, that my oratory,—let it be so: though, indeed, I find that the speaker's power depends for the most part on the hearers; for according to your reception and favor it is that the wisdom of a speaker is esteemed,—if I however possess any ability of this sort, you will find it has been exhibited always in public business on your behalf, never against you or on personal matters; whereas that of Æschines has been displayed not only in speaking for the enemy, but against all persons who ever offended or quarreled with him. It is not for justice or the good of the commonwealth that he employs it. A citizen of worth and honor should not call upon judges impaneled in the public service to gratify his anger or hatred or anything of that kind; nor should he come before you upon such grounds. The best thing is not to have these feelings; but, if it cannot be helped, they should be mitigated and restrained.

On what occasions ought an orator and statesman to be vehement? Where any of the commonwealth's main interests are in jeopardy, and he is opposed to the adversaries of the people. Those are the occasions for a generous and brave citizen. But for a person who never sought to punish me for any offense, either public or private, on the state's behalf or on his own, to have got up an accusation because I am crowned and honored, and to have expended such a multitude of words—this is a proof of personal enmity and spite and meanness, not of anything good. And then his leaving the controversy with me, and attacking the defendant, comprises everything that is base.

I should conclude, Æschines, that you undertook this cause to exhibit your eloquence and strength of lungs, not to obtain satisfaction for any wrong. But it is not the language of an orator, Æschines, that has any value, nor yet the tone of his voice, but his adopting the same views with the people, and his hating and loving the same persons that his country does. He that is thus minded will say everything with loyal intention: he that courts persons from whom the commonwealth apprehends danger to herself rides not on the same anchorage with the people, and therefore has not the same expectation of safety. But—do you see?—I have: for my objects are the same with those of my countrymen; I have no interest separate or distinct. Is that so with you? How can it be—when immediately after the battle you went as embassador to Philip, who was at that period the author

of your country's calamities, notwithstanding that you had before persisted in refusing that office, as all men know?

And who is it that deceives the state? Surely the man who speaks not what he thinks. On whom does the crier pronounce a curse? Surely on such a man. What greater crime can an orator be charged with than that his opinions and his language are not the same? Such is found to be your character. And yet you open your mouth, and dare to look these men in the faces! Do you think they don't know you? — or are sunk all in such slumber and oblivion as not to remember the speeches which you delivered in the assembly, cursing and swearing that you had nothing to do with Philip, and that I brought that charge against you out of personal enmity, without foundation? No sooner came the news of the battle than you forgot all that; you acknowledged and avowed that between Philip and yourself there subsisted a relation of hospitality and friendship — new names these for your contract of hire. For upon what plea of equality or justice could Æschines, son of Glaucothea the timbrel player, be the friend or acquaintance of Philip? I cannot see. No! You were hired to ruin the interests of your countrymen; and yet, though you yourself have been caught in open treason, and been informed against yourself after the fact, you revile and reproach me for things which you will find any man is chargeable with sooner than I.

Many great and glorious enterprises has the commonwealth, Æschines, undertaken and succeeded in through me; and she did not forget them. Here is the proof. On the election of a person to speak the funeral oration immediately after the event, you were proposed, but the people would not have you, notwithstanding your fine voice, nor Demades, though he had just made the peace, nor Hegemon, nor any other of your party — but me. And when you and Pythocles came forward in a brutal and shameful manner (O merciful heaven!) and urged the same accusations against me which you now do, and abused me, they elected me all the more. The reason — you are not ignorant of it — yet I will tell you. The Athenians knew as well the loyalty and zeal with which I conducted their affairs, as the dishonesty of you and your party; for what you denied upon oath in our prosperity, you confessed in the misfortunes of the republic. They considered, therefore, that men who got security for their politics by the public disasters had been their enemies long before, and

were then avowedly such. They thought it right, also, that the person who was to speak in honor of the fallen and celebrate their valor should not have sat under the same roof or at the same table with their antagonists; that he should not revel there and sing a pæan over the calamities of Greece in company with their murderers, and then come here and receive distinction; that he should not with his voice act the mourner of their fate, but that he should lament over them with his heart. This they perceived in themselves and in me, but not in any of you: therefore they elected me, and not you. Nor, while the people felt thus, did the fathers and brothers of the deceased, who were chosen by the people to perform their obsequies, feel differently. For having to order the funeral banquet (according to custom) at the house of the nearest relative to the deceased, they ordered it at mine. And with reason: because, though each to his own was nearer of kin than I was, none was so near to them all collectively. He that had the deepest interest in their safety and success had upon their mournful disaster the largest share of sorrow for them all.

Read him this epitaph, which the state chose to inscribe on their monument, that you may see even by this, Æschines, what a heartless and malignant wretch you are. Read.

> "These are the patriot brave, who side by side
> Stood to their arms, and dash'd the foeman's pride,
> Firm in their valor, prodigal of life,
> Hades they chose the arbiter of strife;
> That Greeks might ne'er to haughty victors bow,
> Nor thraldom's yoke, nor dire oppression know;
> They fought, they bled, and on their country's breast
> (Such was the doom of heaven) these warriors rest.
> Gods never lack success, nor strive in vain,
> But man must suffer what the fates ordain."

Do you hear, Æschines, in this very inscription, that "gods never lack success, nor strive in vain"? Not to the statesman does it ascribe the power of giving victory in battle, but to the gods. Wherefore, then, execrable man, do you reproach me with these things? Wherefore utter such language? I pray that it may fall upon the heads of you and yours!

Many other accusations and falsehoods he urged against me, O Athenians, but one thing surprised me more than all, that,

when he mentioned the late misfortunes of the country, he felt not as became a well-disposed and upright citizen; he shed no tear, experienced no such emotion; with a loud voice exulting, and straining his throat, he imagined apparently that he was accusing me, while he was giving proof against himself that our distresses touched him not in the same manner as the rest. A person who pretends, as he did, to care for the laws and constitution, ought at least to have this about him, that he grieves and rejoices for the same cause as the people, and not by his politics to be enlisted in the ranks of the enemy, as Æschines has plainly done, saying that I am the cause of all, and that the commonwealth has fallen into troubles through me, when it was not owing to my views or principles that you began to assist the Greeks; for, if you conceded this to me, that my influence caused you to resist the subjugation of Greece, it would be a higher honor than any that you have bestowed upon others. I myself would not make such an assertion — it would be doing you injustice — nor would you allow it, I am sure; and Æschines, if he acted honestly, would never, out of enmity to me, have disparaged and defamed the greatest of your glories.

But why do I censure him for this when with calumny far more shocking has he assailed me? He that charges me with Philippizing — O heaven and earth! — what would he not say? By Hercules and the gods! if one had honestly to inquire, discarding all expression of spite and falsehood, who the persons really are on whom the blame of what has happened may by common consent fairly and justly be thrown, it would be found they are persons in the various states like Æschines, not like me — persons who, while Philip's power was feeble and exceedingly small, and we were constantly warning and exhorting and giving salutary counsel, sacrificed the general interests for the sake of selfish lucre, deceiving and corrupting their respective countrymen, until they made them slaves — Daochus, Cineas, Thrasylaus, the Thessalians, Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucampidas, the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teledamus, Mnaseas, the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus, the Eleans; Neon and Thrasylochus, sons of the accursed Philiades, the Messenians; Aristratus, Epichares, the Sicyonians; Dinarchus, Demaratus, the Corinthians; Ptœodorus, Helixus, Perilaus, the Megarians; Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemœtas, the Thebans; Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosistratus, the Eubœans. The day will not last me to recount the

names of the traitors. All these, O Athenians, are men of the same politics in their own countries as this party among you,— profligates and parasites and miscreants, who have each of them crippled their fatherlands; toasted away their liberty, first to Philip and last to Alexander; who measure happiness by their belly and all that is base, while freedom and independence, which the Greeks of olden time regarded as the test and standard of well-being, they have annihilated.

Of this base and infamous conspiracy and profligacy,—or rather, O Athenians, if I am to speak in earnest, of this betrayal of Grecian liberty,—Athens is by all mankind acquitted, owing to my counsels; and I am acquitted by you. Then do you ask me, Æschines, for what merit I claim to be honored? I will tell you. Because, while all the statesmen in Greece, beginning with yourself, have been corrupted formerly by Philip and now by Alexander, me neither opportunity, nor fair speeches, nor large promises, nor hope, nor fear, nor anything else, could tempt or induce to betray aught that I considered just and beneficial to my country. Whatever I have advised my fellow-citizens, I have never advised like you men, leaning as in a balance to the side of profit; all my proceedings have been those of a soul upright, honest, and incorrupt; intrusted with affairs of greater magnitude than any of my contemporaries, I have administered them all honestly and faithfully. Therefore do I claim to be honored.

As to this fortification, for which you ridiculed me, of the wall and fosse, I regard them as deserving of thanks and praise, and so they are; but I place them nowhere near my acts of administration. Not with stones nor with bricks did I fortify Athens, nor is this the ministry on which I most pride myself. Would you view my fortifications aright, you will find arms and states and posts and harbors and galleys and horses and men for their defense. These are the bulwarks with which I protected Attica as far as was possible by human wisdom; with these I fortified our territory, not the circle of Piræus or the city. Nay, more; I was not beaten by Philip in estimates or preparations; far from it; but the generals and forces of the allies were overcome by his fortune. Where are the proofs of this? They are plain and evident. Consider.

What was the course becoming a loyal citizen—a statesman serving his country with all possible forethought and zeal and fidelity? Should he not have covered Attica on the seaboard

with Eubœa, on the midland frontier with Bœotia, on the Peloponnesian with the people of that confine? Should he not have provided for the conveyance of corn along a friendly coast all the way to Piræus? preserved certain places that belonged to us by sending off succors, and by advising and moving accordingly,—Proconnesus, Chersonesus, Tenedos? brought others into alliance and confederacy with us,—Byzantium, Abydus, Eubœa? cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and supplied what the commonwealth was deficient in? All this has been accomplished by my decrees and measures; and whoever will examine them without prejudice, men of Athens, will find they were rightly planned and faithfully executed; that none of the proper seasons were lost or missed or thrown away by me; nothing which depended on one man's ability and prudence was neglected. But if the power of some deity or fortune, or the worthlessness of commanders, or the wickedness of you that betrayed your countries, or all these things together, injured and eventually ruined our cause, of what is Demosthenes guilty? Had there been in each of the Greek cities one such man as I was in my station among you, or, rather, had Thessaly possessed one single man, and Arcadia one, of the same sentiments as myself, none of the Greeks either beyond or within Thermopylæ would have suffered their present calamities; all would have been free and independent, living prosperously in their own countries with perfect safety and security, thankful to you and the rest of the Athenians for such manifold blessings through me.

To show you that I greatly understate my services for fear of giving offense, here—read me this—the list of auxiliaries procured by my decrees. [The list is read.]

These and the like measures, Æschines, are what become an honorable citizen (by their success—O earth and heaven!—we should have been the greatest of people incontestably, and deserved to be so: even under their failure the result is glory, and no one blames Athens or her policy: all condemn fortune that so ordered things); but never will he desert the interests of the commonwealth, nor hire himself to her adversaries, and study the enemy's advantage instead of his country's; nor on a man who has courage to advise and propose measures worthy of the state, and resolution to persevere in them, will he cast an evil eye, and, if any one privately offend him, remember and treasure it up; no, nor keep himself in a criminal and treacherous retirement, as you so

often do. There is, indeed, a retirement just and beneficial to the state, such as you, the bulk of my countrymen, innocently enjoy: that, however, is not the retirement of Æschines; far from it. Withdrawing himself from public life when he pleases,—and that is often,—he watches for the moment when you are tired of a constant speaker, or when some reverse of fortune has befallen you, or anything untoward has happened (and many are the casualties of human life): at such a crisis he springs up as an orator, rising from his retreat like a wind; in full voice, with words and phrases collected, he rolls them out audibly and breathlessly, to no advantage or good purpose whatsoever, but to the detriment of some or other of his fellow-citizens and to the general disgrace.

Yet from this labor and diligence, Æschines, if it proceeded from an honest heart, solicitous for your country's welfare, the fruits should have been rich and noble and profitable to all—alliances of states, supplies of money, conveniences of commerce, enactment of useful laws, opposition to our declared enemies. All such things were looked for in former times,—and many opportunities did the past afford for a good man and true to show himself,—during which time you are nowhere to be found, neither first, second, third, fourth, fifth, nor sixth—not in any rank at all—certainly on no service by which your country was exalted. For what alliance has come to the state by your procurement? What succors, what acquisition of good-will or credit? What embassy or agency is there of yours, by which the reputation of the country has been increased? What concern domestic, Hellenic, or foreign, of which you have had the management, has improved under it? What galleys? what ammunition? what arsenals? what repair of walls? what cavalry? What in the world are you good for? What assistance in money have you ever given, either to the rich or the poor, out of public spirit or liberality? None. But, good sir, if there is nothing of this, there is at all events zeal and loyalty. Where? when? You infamous fellow! Even at a time when all who ever spoke upon the platform gave something for the public safety, and last Aristonicus gave the sum which he had amassed to retrieve his franchise, you neither came forward nor contributed a mite—not from inability—no! for you have inherited above five talents from Philo, your wife's father, and you had a subscription of two talents from the chairmen of the boards for what you did to cut up the

navy law. But, that I may not go from one thing to another and lose sight of the question, I pass this by. That it was not poverty prevented your contributing, already appears; it was, in fact, your anxiety to do nothing against those to whom your political life is subservient. On what occasions, then, do you show your spirit? When do you shine out? When aught is to be spoken against your countrymen!—then it is you are splendid in voice, perfect in memory, an admirable actor, a tragic Theocrines.

You mention the good men of olden times; and you are right so to do. Yet it is hardly fair, O Athenians, that he should get the advantage of that respect which you have for the dead, to compare and contrast me with them,—me who am living among you; for what mortal is ignorant that toward the living there exists always more or less of ill-will, whereas the dead are no longer hated even by an enemy? Such being human nature, am I to be tried and judged by the standard of my predecessors? Heaven forbid! It is not just or equitable, Æschines. Let me be compared with you, or any persons you like of your party who are still alive. And consider this—whether it is more honorable and better for the state, that because of the services of a former age, prodigious though they are beyond all power of expression, those of the present generation should be unrequited and spurned, or that all who give proof of their good intentions should have their share of honor and regard from the people. Yet, indeed,—if I must say so much,—my politics and principles, if considered fairly, will be found to resemble those of the illustrious ancients, and to have had the same objects in view, while yours resemble those of their calumniators; for it is certain there were persons in those times who ran down the living, and praised people dead and gone, with a malignant purpose like yourself.

You say that I am nothing like the ancients. Are you like them, Æschines? Is your brother, or any of our speakers? I assert that no one is. But pray, my good fellow (that I may give you no other name), try the living with the living and with his competitors, as you would in all cases—poets, dancers, athletes. Philammon did not, because he was inferior to Glaucus of Carystus and some other champions of a bygone age, depart uncrowned from Olympia, but, because he beat all who entered the ring against him, was crowned and proclaimed conqueror. So I ask you to compare me with the orators of the day, with your-

self, with anyone you like: I yield to none. When the commonwealth was at liberty to choose for her advantage, and patriotism was a matter of emulation, I showed myself a better counselor than any, and every act of state was pursuant to my decrees and laws and negotiations; none of your party was to be seen, unless you had to do the Athenians a mischief. After that lamentable occurrence, when there was a call no longer for advisers, but for persons obedient to command, persons ready to be hired against their country and willing to flatter strangers, then all of you were in occupation, grand people with splendid equipages; I was powerless, I confess, though more attached to my countrymen than you.

Two things, men of Athens, are characteristic of a well-disposed citizen,—so may I speak of myself and give the least offense:—In authority, his constant aim should be the dignity and pre-eminence of the commonwealth; in all times and circumstances his spirit should be loyal. This depends upon nature; power and might upon other things. Such a spirit, you will find, I have ever sincerely cherished. Only see. When my person was demanded—when they brought Amphictyonic suits against me—when they menaced—when they promised—when they set these miscreants like wild beasts upon me—never in any way have I abandoned my affection for you. From the very beginning I chose an honest and straightforward course in politics, to support the honor, the power, the glory of my fatherland, these to exalt, in these to have my being. I do not walk about the market place gay and cheerful because the stranger has prospered, holding out my right hand and congratulating those whom I think will report it yonder, and on any news of our own success shudder and groan and stoop to the earth, like these impious men who rail at Athens, as if in so doing they did not rail at themselves; who look abroad, and if the foreigner thrive by the distresses of Greece, are thankful for it, and say we should keep him so thriving to all time.

Never, O ye gods, may those wishes be confirmed by you! If possible, inspire even in these men a better sense and feeling! But if they are, indeed, incurable, destroy them by themselves; exterminate them on land and sea; and for the rest of us, grant that we may speedily be released from our present fears, and enjoy a lasting deliverance!

THE SECOND OLYNTHIAC

(Delivered at Athens 349, B. C.)

On many occasions, men of Athens, one may see the kindness of the gods to this country manifested, but most signally, I think, on the present. That here are men prepared for a war with Philip, possessed of a neighboring territory and some power, and (what is most important) so fixed in their hostility as to regard any accommodation with him as insecure, and even ruinous to their country; this really appears like an extraordinary act of divine beneficence. It must then be our care, Athenians, that we are not more unkind to ourselves than circumstances have been; as it would be a foul, a most foul reproach, to have abandoned not only cities and places that once belonged to us, but also the allies and advantages provided by fortune.

To dilate, Athenians, on Philip's power, and by such discourse to incite you to your duty, I think improper: and why? Because all that may be said on that score involves matter of glory for him, and misconduct on our part. The more he has transcended his repute, the more is he universally admired; you, as you have used your advantages unworthily, have incurred the greater disgrace. This topic, then, I shall pass over. Indeed, Athenians, a correct observer will find the source of his greatness here, and not in himself. But of measures, for which Philip's partisans deserve his gratitude and your vengeance, I see no occasion to speak now. Other things are open to me, which it concerns you all to know, and which must, on a due examination, Athenians, reflect great disgrace on Philip. To these will I address myself.

To call him perjured and treacherous, without showing what he has done, might justly be termed idle abuse. But to go through all his actions and convict him in detail, will take, as it happens, but a short time, and is expedient, I think, for two reasons: Firstly, that his baseness may appear in its true light; secondly, that they, whose terror imagines Philip to be invincible, may see he has run through all the artifices by which he rose to greatness, and his career is just come to an end. I myself, men of Athens, should most assuredly have regarded Philip as an object of fear and admiration, had I seen him exalted by honorable

conduct; but observing and considering, I find that in the beginning, when certain persons drove away the Olynthians who desired a conference with us, he gained over our simplicity by engaging to surrender Amphipolis, and to execute the secret article once so famous; afterward he got the friendship of the Olynthians, by taking Potidæa from you, wronging you, his former allies, and delivering it to them; and lastly now the Thessalians, by promising to surrender Magnesia, and undertake the Phocian war on their behalf. In short, none who have dealt with him has he not deceived. He has risen by conciliating and cajoling the weakness of every people in turn who knew him not. As, therefore, by such means he rose, when every people imagined he would advance their interest, so ought he by the same means to be pulled down again, when the selfish aim of his whole policy is exposed.

To this crisis, O Athenians, are Philip's affairs come; or let any man stand forward and prove to me, or rather to you, that my assertions are false, or that men whom Philip has once overreached will trust him hereafter, or that the Thessalians who have been degraded into servitude would not gladly become free.

But if any among you, though agreeing in these statements, think that Philip will maintain his power by having occupied forts and havens and the like, this is a mistake. True, when a confederacy subsists by good-will, and all parties to the war have a common interest, men are willing to co-operate and bear hardships and persevere. But when one has grown strong, like Philip, by rapacity and artifice, on the first pretext, the slightest reverse, all is overturned and broken up. Impossible is it,—impossible, Athenians,—to acquire a solid power by injustice and perjury and falsehood. Such things last for once, or for a short period; maybe, they blossom fairly with hope; but in time they are discovered and drop away. As a house, a ship, or the like, ought to have the lower parts firmest, so in human conduct, I ween, the principle and foundation should be just and true. But this is not so in Philip's conduct.

I say, then, we should at once aid the Olynthians (the best and quickest way that can be suggested will please me most), and send an embassy to the Thessalians, to inform some of our measures and to stir up the rest; for they have now resolved to demand Pagasæ, and remonstrate about Magnesia. But look to

this, Athenians, that our envoys shall not only make speeches, but have some real proof that we have gone forth as becomes our country, and are engaged in action. All speech without action appears vain and idle, but especially that of our commonwealth; as the more we are thought to excel therein, the more is our speaking distrusted by all. You must show yourselves greatly reformed, greatly changed, contributing, serving personally, acting promptly, before any one will pay attention to you. And if ye will perform these duties properly and becomingly, Athenians, not only will it appear that Philip's alliances are weak and precarious, but the poor state of his native empire and power will be revealed.

To speak roundly, the Macedonian power and empire is very well as a help, as it was for you in Timotheus's time against the Olynthians; likewise for them against Potidæa the conjunction was important; and lately it aided the Thessalians in their broils and troubles against the regnant house: and the accession of any power, however small, is undoubtedly useful. But the Macedonian is feeble of itself, and full of defects. The very operations which seem to constitute Philip's greatness, his wars and his expeditions, have made it more insecure than it was originally. Think not, Athenians, that Philip and his subjects have the same likings. He desires glory, makes that his passion, is ready for any consequence of adventure and peril, preferring to a life of safety the honor of achieving what no Macedonian king ever did before. They have no share in the glorious result; ever harassed by these excursions up and down, they suffer and toil incessantly, allowed no leisure for their employments or private concerns, unable even to dispose of their hard earnings, the markets of the country being closed on account of the war. By this, then, may easily be seen how the Macedonians in general are disposed to Philip. His mercenaries and guards, indeed, have the reputation of admirable and well-trained soldiers, but, as I heard from one who had been in the country, a man incapable of falsehood, they are no better than others. For if there be any among them experienced in battles and campaigns, Philip is jealous of such men and drives them away, he says, wishing to keep the glory of all actions to himself,—his jealousy (among other failings) being excessive. Or if any man be generally good and virtuous, unable to bear Philip's daily intemperances, drunkenness, and indecencies. he is pushed aside and accounted

as nobody. The rest about him are brigands and parasites and men of that character, who will get drunk and perform dances which I scruple to name before you. My information is undoubtedly true; for persons whom all scouted here as worse rascals than mountebanks, Callias the town-slave and the like of him, antic-jesters and composers of ribald songs to lampoon their companions, such persons Philip caresses and keeps about him. Small matters these may be thought, Athenians, but to the wise they are strong indications of his character and wrong-headedness. Success, perhaps, throws a shade over them now; prosperity is a famous hider of such blemishes; but on any miscarriage they will be fully exposed. And this (trust me, Athenians) will appear in no long time, if the gods so will and you determine. For as in the human body, a man in health feels not partial ailments, but, when illness occurs, all are in motion, whether it be a rupture or a sprain or anything else unsound, so with states and monarchs, while they wage eternal war, their weaknesses are undiscerned by most men, but the tug of a frontier war betrays all.

If any of you think Philip a formidable opponent because they see he is fortunate, such reasoning is prudent, Athenians. Fortune has, indeed, a great preponderance — nay, is everything in human affairs. Not but that, if I had the choice, I should prefer our fortune to Philip's, would you but moderately perform your duty. For I see you have many more claims to the divine favor than he has. But we sit doing nothing; and a man idle himself cannot require even his friends to act for him, much less the gods. No wonder, then, that he, marching and toiling in person, present on all occasions, neglecting no time or season, prevails over us delaying and voting and inquiring. I marvel not at that; the contrary would have been marvelous, if we, doing none of the duties of war, had beaten one doing all. But this surprises me that formerly, Athenians, you resisted the Lacedæmonians for the rights of Greece, and rejecting many opportunities of selfish gain, to secure the rights of others, expended your property in contributions, and bore the brunt of the battle; yet now you are loath to serve, slow to contribute, in defense of your own possessions, and, though you have often saved the other nations of Greece collectively and individually, under your own losses you sit still. This surprises me, and one thing more, Athenians, that not one of you can reckon how long your war with Philip has lasted, and what you have been doing while the

time has passed. You surely know that while you have been delaying, expecting others to act, accusing, trying one another, expecting again, doing much the same as ye do now, all the time has passed away. Then are ye so senseless, Athenians, as to imagine that the same measures which have brought the country from a prosperous to a poor condition will bring it from a poor to a prosperous? Unreasonable were this and unnatural; for all things are easier kept than gotten. The war now has left us nothing to keep; we have all to get, and the work must be done by ourselves.

I say, then, you must contribute money, serve in person with alacrity, accuse no one, till you have gained your objects; then, judging from facts, honor the deserving, punish offenders; let there be no pretenses or defaults on your own part; for you can not harshly scrutinize the conduct of others, unless you have done what is right yourselves. Why, think you, do all the generals whom you commission avoid this war and seek wars of their own? (For of the generals, too, must a little truth be told.) Because here the prizes of the war are yours; for example, if Amphipolis be taken, you will immediately recover it; the commanders have all the risk and no reward. But in the other case the risks are less, and the gains belong to the commanders and soldiers; Lampsacus, Sigeum, the vessels which they plunder. So they proceed to secure their several interests: you, when you look at the bad state of your affairs, bring the generals to trial; but when they get a hearing and plead these necessities, you dismiss them. The result is that, while you are quarreling and divided, some holding one opinion, some another, the commonwealth goes wrong. Formerly, Athenians, you had boards for taxes; now you have boards for politics. There is an orator presiding on either side, a general under him, and three hundred men to shout; the rest of you are attached to the one party or the other. This you must leave off; be yourselves again; establish a general liberty of speech, deliberation, and action. If some be appointed to command as with royal authority, some to be ship captains, tax payers, soldiers by compulsion, others only to vote against them, and help in nothing besides, no duty will be seasonably performed; the aggrieved parties will still fail you, and you will have to punish them instead of your enemies. I say, in short, you must all fairly contribute, according to each man's ability: take your turns of service till you have all been

afield; give every speaker a hearing, and adopt the best counsel, not what this or that person advises. If ye act thus, not only will ye praise the speaker at the moment, but yourselves afterward, when the condition of the country is improved.

THE ORATION ON THE PEACE

(Delivered at Athens 346, B. C.)

I see, men of Athens, our affairs are in great perplexity and confusion, not only because many interests have been sacrificed, and it is useless to make fine speeches about them, but because, for preserving what remains, you cannot agree upon any single expedient, some holding one opinion, and some another. And besides, perplexing and difficult as deliberation of itself is, you, Athenians, have rendered it far more so. For other men usually hold counsel before action, you hold it after; the result of which during all the time of my remembrance has been that the censurer of your errors gets repute and credit as a good speaker, while your interests and objects of deliberation are lost. Yet, even under these circumstances, I believe, and I have risen with the persuasion, that if you will desist from wrangling and tumult, and listen as becomes men on a political consultation of such importance, I shall be able to suggest and advise measures by which our affairs may be improved and our losses retrieved.

Well as I know, Athenians, that to talk before you of one's self and one's own counsels is a successful artifice with unscrupulous men, I think it so vulgar and offensive that I shrink from it even in a case of necessity. However, I think you will better appreciate what I shall say now, by calling to mind a little that I said on former occasions. For example, Athenians, when they were advising you in the troubles of Eubœa to assist Plutarch, and undertake a discreditable and expensive war, I, and I alone, stood forward to oppose it, and was nearly torn to pieces by the men who for petty lucre have seduced you into many grievous errors. A short time later, when you incurred disgrace and suffered what no mortals ever did from parties whom they assisted, you all acknowledged the worthlessness of their counsels who misled you and the soundness of mine. Again, Athenians, when I saw that Neoptolemus the actor, privileged under color of

his profession, was doing serious mischief to the state, managing and directing things at Athens on Philip's behalf, I came and informed you, not from any private enmity or malice, as subsequent occurrences have shown. And herein I shall not blame the advocates of Neoptolemus (for there were none), but you yourselves; for had you been seeing a tragedy in the temple of Bacchus, instead of it being a debate on the public weal and safety, you could not have heard him with more partiality, or me with more intolerance. But I suppose you all now understand that he made his journey to the enemy in order (as he said) to get the debts there owing to him, and defray thereout his public charges at home; and, after urging this argument, that it was hard to reproach men who brought over their effects from abroad as soon as he obtained security through the peace, he converted into money all the real estate which he possessed here, and has gone off with it to Philip. Thus two of my warnings, justly and rightfully pronounced in accordance with the truth, testify in my favor as a counselor. A third, men of Athens, I will mention, this one only, and straight proceed to the subject of my address. When we embassadors, after receiving the oaths on the peace, had returned, and certain men were promising that Thespiæ and Platæa would be repeopled; that Philip, if he got the mastery, would save the Phocians, and disperse the population of Thebes; that Oropus would be yours, and Eubœa given as compensation for Amphipolis, with more of the like hopes and delusions which led you on, against policy, equity, and honor, to abandon the Phocians; you will find I neither aided in any of these deceits, nor held my tongue. I warned you, as you surely remember, that I knew not of these things nor expected them, and deemed it all idle gossip.

These instances, wherein I have shown greater foresight than others, I mention not by way of boast, nor ascribe, Athenians, to any sagacity of my own, nor will I pretend to discover or discern the future from any but two causes, which I will state: Firstly, men of Athens, through good fortune, which I observe beats all the craft and cleverness of man; secondly, because I judge and estimate things disinterestedly, and no one can show that any lucre is attached to my politics or my speeches. Therefore, whatever be your true policy as indicated by the circumstances, I have a correct view of it; but when you put money on one side as in a balance, it carries away and pulls down the judg-

ment with it, and he that does so can no longer reason upon anything justly or soundly.

The first thing which I maintain to be necessary is this: Whether you seek to obtain allies or contribution or aught else for the state, do it without disturbing the present peace; not that it is very glorious or worthy of you, but, whatever be its character, it had better suited our interests never to have made peace than to break it ourselves, for we have thrown away many advantages which would have rendered the war then safer and easier for us than it can be now. Secondly, Athenians, we must take care that these people assembled and calling themselves Amphictyons are not by us necessitated or furnished with a plea to make a common war against us. I grant, if we renewed the war with Philip on account of Amphipolis or any such private quarrel in which Thessalians, Argives, and Thebans are not concerned, none of them would join in it, and least of all — hear me before you cry out — the Thebans; not that they are kindly disposed to us or would not gratify Philip, but they see clearly, stupid as one may think them, that, if they had a war with you, the hardships would all be theirs, while another sat waiting for the advantages. Therefore, they would not throw themselves into it, unless the ground and origin of the war were common. So if we again went to war with the Thebans for Oropus or any private cause, I should fear no disaster, because our respective auxiliaries would assist us or them, if either country were invaded, but would join with neither in aggression. Such is the spirit of alliances that are worth regard, and so the thing naturally is. People are not friendly either to us or the Thebans to the extent of equally desiring our safety and our predominance. Safe they would all have us for their own sakes; dominant, so as to become their masters, they would not have either of us. What then, say I, is the danger? What is to be guarded against, lest in the coming war there be found a common plea, a common grievance for all? If Argives, and Messenians, and Megalopolitans, and some of the other Peloponnesians, who are in league with them, are hostile to us on account of our negotiating with the Lacedæmonians and seeming to take up some of their enterprises; if the Thebans are (as they say) our enemies, and will be more so, because we harbor their exiles and in every way manifest our aversion to them; Thessalians again, because we harbor the Phocian exiles, and Philip, because we oppose his admission

to the Amphictyonic body; I fear that, each incensed on a private quarrel, they will combine to bring war upon you, setting up the decrees of the Amphictyons, and be drawn on (beyond what their single interests require) to battle it with us, as they did with the Phocians. For you are surely aware that now the Thebans and Philip and the Thessalians have co-operated, without having each exactly the same views. For example, the Thebans could not hinder Philip from advancing and occupying the passes, nor yet from coming last and having the credit of their labors. True, in respect of territorial acquisition, something has been done for them; but in regard to honor and reputation, they have fared wretchedly; since, had Philip not stepped in, they would (it seems) have got nothing. This was not agreeable to them, but having the wish without the power to obtain Orchomenos and Coronea, they submitted to it all. Of Philip, you know, some persons venture to say that he would not have given Orchomenos and Coronea to the Thebans, but was compelled to do so. I wish them joy of their opinion, but thus far I believe that he cared not so much about that business as he desired to occupy the passes and have the glory of the war, as being determined by his agency and the direction of the Pythian games. Such were the objects of his ambition. Thé Thessalians wished not either Philip or Thebes to be aggrandized, since in both they saw danger to themselves, but sought to obtain these two advantages, the synod at Thermopylæ, and the privileges at Delphi; for which objects they aided the confederacy. Thus you will find that each party has been led into many acts unwillingly: and against this danger being such as I describe, you must take precautions.

Must we, then, do as we are bidden for fear of the consequences? and do you recommend this? Far from it. I advise you so to act as not to compromise your dignity, to avoid war, to prove yourselves right-thinking, just-speaking men. With those who think we should boldly suffer anything and do not foresee the war, I would reason thus. We permit the Thebans to have Oropus; and if one ask us why, and require a true answer, we should say, To avoid war. And to Philip now we have ceded Amphipolis by treaty, and allow the Cardians to be excepted from the other people of the Chersonese; and the Carian to seize the islands Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, and the Byzantines to detain our vessels; evidently because we think the tranquillity of peace

more beneficial than strife and contest about such questions. It were folly then and utter absurdity after dealing thus with each party singly on matters of vital moment to ourselves, to battle now with them all for a shadow at Delphi.

THE SECOND PHILIPPIC

(Delivered at Athens 344, B. C.)

IN ALL the speeches, men of Athens, about Philip's measures and infringements of the peace, I observe that statements made on our behalf are thought just and generous, and all who accuse Philip are heard with approbation; yet nothing (I may say) that is proper, or for the sake of which the speeches are worth hearing, is done. To this point are the affairs of Athens brought, that the more fully and clearly one convicts Philip of violating the peace with you, and plotting against the whole of Greece, the more difficult it becomes to advise you how to act. The cause lies in all of us, Athenians, that, when we ought to oppose an ambitious power by deeds and actions, not by words, we men of the hustings shrink from our duty of moving and advising, for fear of your displeasure, and only declaim on the heinousness and atrocity of Philip's conduct; you of the assembly, though better instructed than Philip to argue justly, or comprehend the argument of another, are totally unprepared to check him in the execution of his designs. The result is inevitable, I imagine, and perhaps just. You each succeed better in what you are busy and earnest about; Philip in actions, you in words. If you are still satisfied with using the better arguments, it is an easy matter, and there is no trouble: but if we are to take measures for the correction of these evils, to prevent their insensible progress and the rising up of a mighty power, against which we could have no defense, then our course of deliberation is not the same as formerly; the orators, and you that hear them, must prefer good and salutary counsels to those which are easy and agreeable.

First, men of Athens, if any one regard without uneasiness the might and dominion of Philip, and imagine that it threatens no danger to the state, or that all his preparations are not against you, I marvel, and would entreat you every one to hear briefly from me the reasons why I am led to form a contrary expectation, and wherefore I deem Philip an enemy; that, if I appear

to have the clearer foresight, you may hearken to me; if they, who have such confidence and trust in Philip, you may give your adherence to them.

Thus, then, I reason, Athenians. What did Philip first make himself master of after the peace? Thermopylæ and the Phocian state. Well, and how used he his power? He chose to act for the benefit of Thebes, not of Athens. Why so? Because, I conceive, measuring his calculations by ambition, by his desire of universal empire, without regard to peace, quiet, or justice, he saw plainly that to a people of our character and principles nothing could he offer or give that would induce you for self-interest to sacrifice any of the Greeks to him. He sees that you, having respect for justice, dreading the infamy of the thing, and exercising proper forethought, would oppose him in any such attempt as much as if you were at war: but the Thebans, he expected (and events prove him right), would, in return for the services done them, allow him in everything else to have his way, and, so far from thwarting or impeding him, would fight on his side if he required it. From the same persuasion he befriended lately the Messenians and Argives, which is the highest panegyric upon you, Athenians; for you are adjudged by these proceedings to be the only people incapable of betraying for lucre the national rights of Greece, or bartering your attachment to her for any obligation or benefit. And this opinion of you, that (so different) of the Argives and Thebans, he has naturally formed, not only from a view of present times, but by reflection on the past. For assuredly he finds and hears that your ancestors, who might have governed the rest of Greece on terms of submitting to Persia, not only spurned the proposal, when Alexander, this man's ancestor, came as herald to negotiate, but preferred to abandon their country and endure any suffering, and thereafter achieved such exploits as all the world loves to mention, — though none could ever speak them worthily, and therefore I must be silent, for their deeds are too mighty to be uttered in words. But the forefathers of the Argives and Thebans, they either joined the barbarian's army, or did not oppose it; and therefore he knows that both will selfishly embrace their advantage, without considering the common interest of the Greeks. He thought then, if he chose your friendship, it must be on just principles; if he attached himself to them, he should find auxiliaries of his ambition. This is the reason of his preferring

them to you both then and now. For certainly he does not see them with a larger navy than you, nor has he acquired an inland empire and renounced that of the sea and the ports, nor does he forget the professions and promises on which he obtained the peace.

Well, it may be said, he knew all this, yet he so acted, not from ambition or the motives which I charge, but because the demands of the Thebans were more equitable than yours. Of all pleas, this now is the least open to him. He that bids the Lacedæmonians resign Messene, how can he pretend, when he delivered Orchomenos and Coronea to the Thebans, to have acted on a conviction of justice?

But, forsooth, he was compelled,—this plea remains,—he made concessions against his will, being surrounded by Thessalian horse and Theban infantry. Excellent! So of his intentions they talk; he will mistrust the Thebans; and some carry news about, that he will fortify Elatea. All this he intends and will intend, I dare say; but to attack the Lacedæmonians on behalf of Messene and Argos he does not intend; he actually sends mercenaries and money into the country, and is expected himself with a great force. The Lacedæmonians, who are enemies of Thebes, he overthrows; the Phocians, whom he himself before destroyed, will he now preserve?

And who can believe this? I cannot think that Philip, either if he were forced into his former measures, or if he were now giving up the Thebans, would pertinaciously oppose their enemies; his present conduct rather shows that he adopted those measures by choice. All things prove to a correct observer that his whole plan of action is against our state. And this has now become to him a sort of necessity. Consider. He desires empire: he conceives you to be his only opponents. He has been for some time wronging you, as his own conscience best informs him, since, by retaining what belongs to you, he secures the rest of his dominion: had he given up Amphipolis and Potidæa, he deemed himself unsafe at home. He knows, therefore, both that he is plotting against you, and that you are aware of it; and, supposing you to have intelligence, he thinks you must hate him: he is alarmed, expecting some disaster, if you get the chance, unless he hastes to prevent you. Therefore he is awake, and on the watch against us; he courts certain people, Thebans, and people in Peloponnesus of the like views, who from cupidity, he

thinks, will be satisfied with the present, and from dullness of understanding will foresee none of the consequences. And yet men of even moderate sense might notice striking facts, which I had occasion to quote to the Messenians and Argives, and perhaps it is better they should be repeated to you.

Ye men of Messene, said I, how do ye think the Olynthians would have brooked to hear anything against Philip at those times, when he surrendered to them Anthemus, which all former kings of Macedonia claimed, when he cast out the Athenian colonists and gave them Potidæa, taking on himself your enmity, and giving them the land to enjoy? Think ye they expected such treatment as they got, or would have believed it if they had been told? Nevertheless, said I, they, after enjoying for a short time the land of others, are for a long time deprived by him of their own, shamefully expelled, not only vanquished, but betrayed by one another and sold. In truth, these too close connections with despots are not safe for republics. The Thessalians, again, think ye, said I, when he ejected their tyrants, and gave back Nicæa and Magnesia, they expected to have the decemvirate which is now established? or that he who restored the meeting at Pylæ would take away their revenues? Surely not. And yet these things have occurred, as all mankind may know. You behold Philip, I said, a dispenser of gifts and promises: pray, if you are wise, that you may never know him for a cheat and a deceiver. By Jupiter, I said, there are manifold contrivances for the guarding and defending of cities, such as ramparts, walls, trenches, and the like: these are all made with hands, and require expense; but there is one common safeguard in the nature of prudent men, which is a good security for all, but especially for democracies against despots. What do I mean? Mistrust. Keep this, hold to this, preserve this only, and you can never be injured. What do ye desire? Freedom. Then see ye not that Philip's very titles are at variance therewith? Every king and despot is a foe to freedom, an antagonist to laws. Will you not beware, I said, lest, seeking deliverance from war, you find a master?

They heard me with a tumult of approbation; and many other speeches they heard from the embassadors, both in my presence and afterward; yet none the more, as it appears, will they keep aloof from Philip's friendship and promises. And no wonder that Messenians and certain Peloponnesians should act contrary

to what their reason approves; but you, who understand yourselves, and by us orators are told, how you are plotted against, how you are inclosed! you, I fear, to escape present exertion, will come to ruin ere you are aware. So doth the moment's ease and indulgence prevail over distant advantage.

As to your measures, you will in prudence, I presume, consult hereafter by yourselves. I will furnish you with such an answer as it becomes the assembly to decide upon. [Here the proposed answer was read.]

It were just, men of Athens, to call the persons who brought those promises on the faith whereof you concluded peace. For I should never have submitted to go as embassador, and you would certainly not have discontinued the war, had you supposed that Philip, on obtaining peace, would act thus; but the statements then made were very different. Aye, and others you should call. Whom? The men who declared — after the peace, when I had returned from my second mission, that for the oaths, when, perceiving your delusion, I gave warning and protested, and opposed the abandonment of Thermopylæ and the Phocians — that I, being a water-drinker, was naturally a churlish and morose fellow, that Philip, if he passed the straits, would do just as you desired, fortify Thespiæ and Platæa, humble the Thebans, cut through the Chersonese at his own expense, and give you Oropus and Eubœa in exchange for Amphipolis. All these declarations on the hustings I am sure you remember, though you are not famous for remembering injuries. And, the most disgraceful thing of all, you voted in your confidence that this same peace should descend to your posterity, — so completely were you misled. Why mention I this now, and desire these men to be called? By the gods, I will tell you the truth frankly and without reserve. Not that I may fall a-wrangling to provoke recrimination before you, and afford my old adversaries a fresh pretext for getting more from Philip, nor for the purpose of idle garrulity. But I imagine that what Philip is doing will grieve you hereafter more than it does now. I see the thing progressing, and would that my surmises were false; but I doubt it is too near already. So when you are able no longer to disregard events, when, instead of hearing from me or others that these measures are against Athens, you all see it yourselves, and know it for certain, I expect you will be wrathful and exasperated. I fear then, as your embassadors have concealed the purpose for

which they know they were corrupted, those who endeavor to repair what the others have lost may chance to encounter your resentment; for I see it is a practice with many to vent their anger, not upon the guilty, but on persons most in their power. While, therefore, the mischief is only coming and preparing, while we hear one another speak, I wish every man, though he knows it well, to be reminded who it was persuaded you to abandon Phocis and Thermopylæ, by the command of which Philip commands the road to Attica and Peloponnesus, and has brought it to this, that your deliberation must be, not about claims and interests abroad, but concerning the defense of your home and a war in Attica, which will grieve every citizen when it comes, and indeed it has commenced from that day. Had you not been then deceived there would be nothing to distress the state. Philip would certainly never have prevailed at sea and come to Attica with a fleet, nor would he have marched with a land force by Phocis and Thermopylæ; he must either have acted honorably, observing the peace and keeping quiet, or been immediately in a war similar to that which made him desire the peace. Enough has been said to awaken recollection. Grant, O ye gods, it be not all fully confirmed! I would have no man punished, though death he may deserve, to the damage and danger of the country.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

(1834–)

MAKING his first reputation for oratory by the facility and grace of his "after-dinner speeches," Chauncey Mitchell Depew has gradually enlarged his field until, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, he has been easily first among New York orators, with a reputation which has become international and has made his speeches as welcome in London as they are in New York. He was born at Peekskill, New York, April 23d, 1834. Graduating at Yale in 1856, he studied law and entered public life as a member of the New York Assembly (1861–62); from 1863 to 1865, he was Secretary of State for New York, and in 1869 he formed a connection with the New York Central Railroad as its counsel, which determined his future career. He became president of the road in 1885. In 1898 was elected to the United States Senate.

THE COLUMBIAN ORATION

(Delivered at the Dedication Ceremonies of the World's Fair at Chicago, October 21st, 1892)

THIS day belongs not to America, but to the world. The results of the event it commemorates are the heritage of the peoples of every race and clime. We celebrate the emancipation of man. The preparation was the work of almost countless centuries; the realization was the revelation of one. The cross on Calvary was hope; the cross raised on San Salvador was opportunity. But for the first, Columbus would never have sailed; but for the second, there would have been no place for the planting, the nurture, and the expansion of civil and religious liberty. Ancient history is a dreary record of unstable civilizations. Each reached its zenith of material splendor, and perished. The Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman empires were proofs of the possibilities and limitations of man for conquest and intellectual development. Their destruction involved a sum of misery and relapse which made their creation rather a curse than a blessing. Force was the factor in the government

of the world when Christ was born, and force was the source and exercise of authority both by Church and State when Columbus sailed from Palos. The Wise Men traveled from the East towards the West under the guidance of the Star of Bethlehem. The spirit of the equality of all men before God and the law moved westward from Calvary with its revolutionary influence upon old institutions, to the Atlantic Ocean. Columbus carried it westward across the seas. The emigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, from Germany and Holland, from Sweden and Denmark, from France and Italy, from Spain and Portugal, under its guidance and inspiration, moved west, and again west, building states and founding cities until the Pacific limited their march. The exhibition of arts and sciences, of industries and inventions, of education and civilization, which the Republic of the United States will here present, and to which, through its Chief Magistrate, it invites all nations, condenses and displays the flower and fruitage of this transcendent miracle.

The anarchy and chaos which followed the breaking up of the Roman Empire necessarily produced the feudal system. The people, preferring slavery to annihilation by robber chiefs, became the vassals of territorial lords. The reign of physical force is one of perpetual struggle for the mastery. Power which rests upon the sword neither shares nor limits its authority. The king destroyed the lords, and the monarchy succeeded feudalism. Neither of these institutions considered or consulted the people. They had no part but to suffer or die in this mighty strife of masters for the mastery. But the throne, by its broader view and greater resources, made possible the construction of the highways of freedom. Under its banner, races could unite and petty principalities be merged, law substituted for brute force and right for might. It founded and endowed universities, and encouraged commerce. It conceded no political privileges, but unconsciously prepared its subjects to demand them.

Absolutism in the State and intolerance in the Church shackled popular unrest, and imprisoned thought and enterprise in the fifteenth century. The divine right of kings stamped out the faintest glimmer of revolt against tyranny, and the problems of science, whether of the skies or of the earth, whether of astronomy or geography, were solved or submerged by ecclesiastical decrees. The dungeon was ready for the philosopher who proclaimed the truths of the solar system, or the navigator who

would prove the sphericity of the earth. An English Gladstone, or a French Gambetta, or a German Bismarck, or an Italian Garibaldi, or a Spanish Castelar, would have been thought a monster, and his death at the stake, or on the scaffold, and under the anathemas of the Church, would have received the praise and approval of kings and nobles, of priests and peoples. Reason had no seat in spiritual or temporal realms. Punishment was the incentive to patriotism, and piety was held possible by torture. Confessions of faith extorted from the writhing victim on the rack were believed efficacious in saving his soul from fires eternal beyond the grave. For all that humanity to-day cherishes as its best heritage and choicest gifts, there was neither thought nor hope.

Fifty years before Columbus sailed from Palos, Guttenberg and Faust had forged the hammer which was to break the bonds of superstition and open the prison doors of the mind. They had invented the printing press and movable types. The prior adoption of a cheap process for the manufacture of paper at once utilized the press. Its first service, like all its succeeding efforts, was for the people. The universities and the schoolmen, the privileged and the learned few of that age, were longing for the revelation and preservation of the classic treasures of antiquity, hidden, and yet insecure in monastic cells and libraries. But the firstborn of the marvelous creation of these primitive printers of Mayence was the printed Bible. The priceless contributions of Greece and Rome to the intellectual training and development of the modern world came afterwards, through the same wondrous machine. The force, however, which made possible America and its reflex influence upon Europe was the open Bible by the family fireside. And yet neither the enlightenment of the new learning, nor the dynamic power of the spiritual awakening, could break through the crust of caste which had been forming for centuries. Church and State had so firmly and dexterously interwoven the bars of privilege and authority that liberty was impossible from within. Its piercing light and fervent heat must penetrate from without.

Civil and religious freedom are founded upon the individual and his independence, his worth, his rights, and his equal status and opportunity. For his planting and development a new land must be found where, with limitless areas for expansion, the avenues of progress would have no bars of custom or heredity,

of social orders or privileged classes. The time had come for the emancipation of the mind and soul of humanity. The factors wanting for its fulfillment were the new world and its discoverer.

God always has in training some commanding genius for the control of great crises in the affairs of nations and peoples. The number of these leaders is less than the centuries, but their lives are the history of human progress. Though Cæsar and Charlemagne and Hildebrand and Luther and William the Conqueror and Oliver Cromwell and all the epoch-makers prepared Europe for the event, and contributed to the result, the lights which illumine our firmament to-day are Columbus the discoverer, Washington the founder, and Lincoln the savior.

Neither realism nor romance furnishes a more striking and picturesque figure than that of Christopher Columbus. The mystery about his origin heightens the charm of his story. That he came from among the toilers of his time is in harmony with the struggles of our period. Forty-four authentic portraits of him have descended to us, and no two of them are the counterfeits of the same person. Each represents a character as distinct as its canvas. Strength and weakness, intellectuality and stupidity, high moral purpose and brutal ferocity, purity and licentiousness, the dreamer and the miser, the pirate and the Puritan, are the types from which we may select our hero. We dismiss the painter, and piercing with the clarified vision of the dawn of the twentieth century the veil of four hundred years, we construct our Columbus.

The perils of the sea in his youth upon the rich argosies of Genoa, or in the service of the licensed rovers who made them their prey, had developed a skillful navigator and intrepid mariner. They had given him a glimpse of the possibilities of the unknown beyond the highways of travel, which roused an unquenchable thirst for adventure and research. The study of the narratives of previous explorers and diligent questionings of the daring spirits who had ventured far towards the fabled West gradually evolved a theory which became in his mind so fixed a fact that he could inspire others with his own passionate beliefs. The words, "That is a lie," written by him on the margin of nearly every page of a volume of the travels of Marco Polo, which is still to be found in a Genoese library, illustrate the skepticism of his beginning, and the first vision of the New World the fulfillment of his faith.

To secure the means to test the truth of his speculations, this poor and unknown dreamer must win the support of kings and overcome the hostility of the Church. He never doubted his ability to do both, though he knew of no man living who was so great in power, or lineage, or learning, that he could accomplish either. Unaided and alone he succeeded in arousing the jealousies of sovereigns, and dividing the councils of the ecclesiastics. "I will command your fleet and discover for you new realms, but only on condition that you confer on me hereditary nobility, the Admiralty of the Ocean and the Vice-Royalty and one-tenth the revenues of the New World," were his haughty terms to King John of Portugal. After ten years of disappointment and poverty, subsisting most of the time upon the charity of the enlightened monk of the Convent of Rabida, who was his unfaltering friend, he stood before the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella, and, rising to imperial dignity in his rags, embodied the same royal conditions in his petition. The capture of Granada, the expulsion of Islam from Europe, and the triumph of the Cross, aroused the admiration and devotion of Christendom. But this proud beggar, holding in his grasp the potential promise and dominion of El Dorado and Cathay, divided with the Moslem surrender the attention of sovereigns and of bishops. France and England indicated a desire to hear his theories and see his maps while he was still a suppliant at the gates of the camp of Castile and Aragon, the sport of its courtiers, and the scoff of its confessors. His unshakable faith that Christopher Columbus was commissioned from heaven, both by his name and by Divine command, to carry "Christ across the sea" to new continents and pagan peoples lifted him so far above the discouragements of an empty purse and a contemptuous court that he was proof against the rebuffs of fortune or of friends. To conquer the prejudices of the clergy, to win the approval and financial support of the State, to venture upon that unknown ocean, which, according to the beliefs of the age, was peopled with demons and savage beasts of frightful shape, and from which there was no possibility of return, required the zeal of Peter the Hermit, the chivalric courage of the Cid, and the imagination of Dante. Columbus belonged to that high order of "cranks" who confidently walk where "angels fear to tread," and often become the benefactors of their country or their kind.

It was a happy omen of the position which woman was to hold in America that the only person who comprehended the majestic scope of his plans and the invincible quality of his genius was the able and gracious Queen of Castile. Isabella alone of all the dignitaries of that age shares with Columbus the honors of his great achievement. She arrayed her kingdom and her private fortune behind the enthusiasm of this mystic mariner, and posterity pays homage to her wisdom and faith.

The overthrow of the Mohammedan power in Spain would have been a forgotten scene in one of the innumerable acts in the grand drama of history had not Isabella conferred immortality upon herself, her husband, and their dual crown, by her recognition of Columbus. The devout spirit of the Queen and the high purpose of the explorer inspired the voyage, subdued the mutinous crew, and prevailed over the raging storms. They covered with the divine radiance of religion and humanity the degrading search for gold and the horrors of its quest, which filled the first century of conquest with every form of lust and greed.

The mighty soul of the great admiral was undaunted by the ingratitude of princes and the hostility of the people by imprisonment and neglect. He died as he was securing the means and preparing a campaign for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem from the infidel. He did not know what time has revealed, that while the mission of the crusades of Godfrey of Bouillon and Richard of the Lion Heart was a bloody and fruitless romance, the discovery of America was the salvation of the world. The one was the symbol, the other the spirit; the one death, the other life. The tomb of the Savior was a narrow and empty vault, precious only for its memories of the supreme tragedy of the centuries, but the new continent was to be the home and temple of the living God.

The rulers of the Old World began with partitioning the New. To them the discovery was expansion of empire and grandeur to the throne. Vast territories, whose properties and possibilities were little understood, and whose extent was greater than the kingdoms of the sovereigns, were the gifts to court favorites and the prizes of royal approval. But individual intelligence and independent conscience found here haven and refuge. They were the passengers upon the caravels of Columbus, and

he was unconsciously making for the port of civil and religious liberty. Thinkers who believed men capable of higher destinies and larger responsibilities, and pious people who preferred the Bible to that union of Church and State where each serves the other for the temporal benefit of both, fled to these distant and hospitable lands from intolerable and hopeless oppression at home. It required three hundred years for the people thus happily situated to understand their own powers and resources and to break bonds which were still reverenced or loved, no matter how deeply they wounded or how hard they galled.

The nations of Europe were so completely absorbed in dynastic difficulties and devastating wars, with diplomacy and ambitions, that, if they heard of, they did not heed the growing democratic spirit and intelligence in their American colonies. To them these provinces were sources of revenue, and they never dreamed that they were also schools of liberty. That it exhausted three centuries under the most favorable conditions for the evolution of freedom on this continent demonstrates the tremendous strength of custom and heredity when sanctioned and sanctified by religion. The very chains which fettered became inextricably interwoven with the habits of life, the associations of childhood, the tenderest ties of the family, and the sacred offices of the Church from the cradle to the grave. It clearly proves that if the people of the Old World and their descendants had not possessed the opportunities afforded by the New for their emancipation, and mankind had never experienced and learned the American example, instead of living in the light and glory of nineteenth-century conditions they would still be struggling with mediæval problems.

The northern continent was divided among England, France, and Spain, and the southern between Spain and Portugal. France, wanting the capacity for colonization, which still characterizes her, gave up her western possessions and left the English, who have the genius of universal empire, masters of North America. The development of the experiment in the English domain makes this day memorable. It is due to the wisdom and courage, the faith and virtue of the inhabitants of this territory, that government of the people, for the people, and by the people was inaugurated and has become a triumphant success. The Puritan settled in New England and the Cavalier in the South. They represented the opposites of spiritual and temporal life

and opinions. The processes of liberty liberalized the one and elevated the other. Washington and Adams were the new types. Their union in a common cause gave the world a Republic both stable and free. It possessed conservatism without bigotry, and liberty without license. It founded institutions strong enough to resist revolution, and elastic enough for indefinite expansion to meet the requirements in government of ever-enlarging areas of population and the needs of progress and growth. It was nurtured by the toleration and patriotism which bound together in a common cause the Puritans of New England and the Catholics of Maryland, the Dutch Reformers of New York and the Huguenots of South Carolina, the Quakers and Lutherans of Pennsylvania and the Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and religionists of all and of opposite opinions in the other colonies.

The Mayflower, with the Pilgrims, and a Dutch ship laden with African slaves were on the ocean at the same time, the one sailing for Massachusetts, and the other for Virginia. This company of saints and first cargo of slaves represented the forces which were to peril and rescue free government. The slaver was the product of the commercial spirit of Great Britain, and the greed of the times to stimulate production in the colonies. The men who wrote in the cabin of the Mayflower the first charter of freedom, a government of just and equal laws, were a little band of Protestants against every form of injustice and tyranny. The leaven of their principles made possible the Declaration of Independence, liberated the slaves, and founded the free commonwealths which form the Republic of the United States.

Platforms of principles, by petition or protest or statement, have been as frequent as revolts against established authority. They are a part of the political literature of all nations. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed at Philadelphia, July 4th, 1776, is the only one of them which arrested the attention of the world when it was published and has held its undivided interest ever since. The vocabulary of the equality of man had been in familiar use by philosophers and statesmen for ages. It expressed noble sentiments, but their application was limited to classes or conditions. The masses cared little for them, nor remembered them long. Jefferson's superb crystallization of the popular opinion that "all men are created equal, that they are

endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," had its force and effect in being the deliberate utterance of the people. It swept away in a single sentence kings and nobles, peers and prelates. It was Magna Charta and the Petition of Rights planted in the virgin soil of the American wilderness and bearing richer and riper fruit. Under its vitalizing influence upon the individual, the farmer left his plow in the furrow, the lawyer his books and briefs, the merchant his shop, and the workman his bench, to enlist in the patriot army. They were fighting for themselves and their children. They embodied the idea in their Constitution in the immortal words with which that great instrument of liberty and order began:—

"We, the people of the United States, do ordain."

The scope and limitations of this idea of freedom have neither been misinterpreted nor misunderstood. The laws of nature in their application to the rise and recognition of men according to their mental, moral, spiritual, and physical endowments are left undisturbed. But the accident of birth gives no rank and confers no privilege. Equal rights and common opportunity for all have been the spurs of ambition and the motors of progress. They have established the common schools and built the public libraries. A sovereign people have learned and enforced the lesson of free education. The practice of government is itself a liberal education. People who make their own laws need no lawgivers. After a century of successful trial, the system has passed the period of experiment, and its demonstrated permanency and power are revolutionizing the governments of the world. It has raised the largest armies of modern times for self-preservation, and at the successful termination of the war returned the soldiers to the pursuits of peace. It has so adjusted itself to the pride and patriotism of the defeated that they vie with the victors in their support of and enthusiasm for the old flag and our common country. Imported anarchists have preached their baleful doctrines, but have made no converts. They have tried to inaugurate a reign of terror under the banner of the violent seizure and distribution of property only to be defeated, imprisoned, and executed by the law made by the people and enforced by juries selected from the people, and judges and prosecuting officers elected by the people. Socialism finds disciples only among those who were its votaries before they were

forced to fly from their native land, but it does not take root upon American soil. The State neither supports nor permits taxation to maintain the Church. The citizen can worship God according to his belief and conscience, or he may neither reverence nor recognize the Almighty. And yet religion has flourished, churches abound, the ministry is sustained, and millions of dollars are contributed annually for the evangelization of the world. The United States is a Christian country and a living and practical Christianity is the characteristic of its people.

Benjamin Franklin, philosopher and patriot, amused the jaded courtiers of Louis XVI. by his talks about liberty, and entertained the scientists of France by bringing lightning from the clouds. In the reckoning of time, the period from Franklin to Morse, and from Morse to Edison is but a span, and yet it marks a material development as marvelous as it has been beneficent. The world has been brought into contact and sympathy. The electric current thrills and unifies the people of the globe. Power and production, highways and transports have been so multiplied and improved by inventive genius, that within the century of our independence sixty-four millions of people have happy homes and improved conditions within our borders. We have accumulated wealth far beyond the visions of the Cathay of Columbus or the El Dorado of De Soto. But the farmers and freeholders, the savings banks and shops illustrate its universal distribution. The majority are its possessors and administrators. In housing and living, in the elements which make the toiler a self-respecting and respected citizen, in avenues of hope and ambition for children, in all that gives broader scope and keener pleasure to existence, the people of this Republic enjoy advantages far beyond those of other lands. The unequaled and phenomenal progress of the country has opened wonderful opportunities for making fortunes, and stimulated to madness the desire and rush for the accumulation of money. Material prosperity has not debased literature nor debauched the press; it has neither paralyzed nor repressed intellectual activity. American science and letters have received rank and recognition in the older centres of learning. The demand for higher education has so taxed the resources of the ancient universities as to compel the foundation and liberal endowment of colleges all over the Union. Journals, remarkable for their ability, independence, and power, find their strength, not in the patronage of government, or the subsidies of wealth, but

in the support of a nation of newspaper readers. The humblest and poorest person has, in periodicals whose price is counted in pennies, a library larger, fuller, and more varied than was within the reach of the rich in the time of Columbus.

The sum of human happiness has been infinitely increased by the millions from the Old World who have improved their conditions in the New, and the returning tide of lesson and experience has incalculably enriched the Fatherlands. The divine right of kings has taken its place with the instruments of mediæval torture among the curiosities of the antiquary. Only the shadow of kingly authority stands between the government of themselves, by themselves, and the people of Norway and Sweden. The union in one empire of the States of Germany is the symbol of Teutonic power and the hope of German liberalism. The petty despotisms of Italy have been merged into a nationality which has centralized its authority in its ancient capitol on the hills of Rome. France was rudely roused from the sullen submission of centuries to intolerable tyranny by her soldiers returning from service in the American revolution. The wild orgies of the Reign of Terror were the revenges and excesses of a people who had discovered their power, but were not prepared for its beneficent use. She fled from herself into the arms of Napoleon. He, too, was a product of the American experiment. He played with kings as with toys and educated France for liberty. In the processes of her evolution from darkness to light, she tried Bourbon and Orleanist and the third Napoleon, and cast them aside. Now in the fullness of time, and through the training in the school of hardest experience, the French people have reared and enjoy a permanent republic. England of the Mayflower and of James II., England of George III. and of Lord North, has enlarged suffrage and is to-day animated and governed by the democratic spirit. She has her throne admirably occupied by one of the wisest of sovereigns and best of women, but it would not survive one dissolute and unworthy successor. She has her hereditary peers, but the House of Lords will be brushed aside the moment it resists the will of the people.

The time has arrived for both a closer union and greater distance between the Old World and the New. The former indiscriminate welcome to our prairies and the present invitation to these palaces of art and industry mark the passing period. Unwatched and unhealthy immigration can no longer be permitted

to our shores. We must have a national quarantine against disease, pauperism, and crime. We do not want candidates for our hospitals, our poorhouses or our jails. We cannot admit those who come to undermine our institutions and subvert our laws. But we will gladly throw wide our gates for, and receive with open arms, those who by intelligence and virtue, by thrift and loyalty, are worthy of receiving the equal advantages of the priceless gift of American citizenship. The spirit and object of this exhibition are peace and kinship.

Three millions of Germans, who are among the best citizens of the Republic, send greeting to the Fatherland their pride in its glorious history, its ripe literature, its traditions and associations. Irish, equal in number to those who still remain upon the Emerald Isle, who have illustrated their devotion to their adopted country on many a battlefield, fighting for the Union and its perpetuity, have rather intensified than diminished their love for the land of the shamrock and their sympathy with the aspirations of their brethren at home. The Italian, the Spaniard, and the Frenchman, the Norwegian, the Swede, and the Dane, the English, the Scotch, and the Welsh, are none the less loyal and devoted Americans because in this congress of their kin the tendrils of affection draw them closer to the hills and valleys, the legends and the loves associated with their youth.

Edmund Burke, speaking in the British Parliament with prophetic voice, said: "A great revolution has happened — a revolution made, not by chopping and changing of power in any of the existing states, but by the appearance of a new state, of a new species, in a new part of the globe. It has made as great a change in all the relations and balances and gravitations of power as the appearance of a new planet would in the system of the solar world." Thus was the humiliation of our successful revolt tempered to the motherland by pride in the state created by her children. If we claim heritage in Bacon, Shakespeare, and Milton, we also acknowledge that it was for liberties guaranteed Englishmen by sacred charters our fathers triumphantly fought. While wisely rejecting throne and caste and privilege and an Established Church in their newborn state, they adopted the substance of English liberty and the body of English law. Closer relations with England than with other lands, and a common language rendering easy interchanges of criticisms and epithet, sometimes irritate and offend, but the heart of republican Amer-

ica beats with responsive pulsations to the hopes and aspirations of the people of Great Britain.

The grandeur and beauty of this spectacle are the eloquent witnesses of peace and progress. The Parthenon and the cathedral exhausted the genius of the ancient, and the skill of the mediæval architects, in housing the statue or spirit of Deity. In their ruins or their antiquity they are mute protests against the merciless enmity of nations, which forced art to flee to the altar for protection. The United States welcome the sister republics of the Southern and Northern continents, and the nations and peoples of Europe and Asia, of Africa and Australia, with the products of their lands, of their skill and of their industry, to this city of yesterday, yet clothed with royal splendor as the Queen of the Great Lakes. The artists and architects of the country have been bidden to design and erect the buildings which shall fitly illustrate the height of our civilization and the breadth of our hospitality. The peace of the world permits and protects their efforts in utilizing their powers for man's temporal welfare. The result is this park of palaces. The originality and the boldness of their conceptions, and the magnitude and harmony of their creations, are the contributions of America to the oldest of the arts and the cordial bidding of America to the peoples of the earth to come and bring the fruitage of their age to the boundless opportunities of this unparalleled exhibition.

If interest in the affairs of this world is vouchsafed to those who have gone before, the spirit of Columbus hovers over us today. Only by celestial intelligence can it grasp the full significance of this spectacle and ceremonial.

From the first century to the fifteenth counts for little in the history of progress, but in the period between the fifteenth and the twentieth is crowded the romance and reality of human development. Life has been prolonged, and its enjoyment intensified. The powers of the air and the water, the resistless forces of the elements, which in the time of the Discoverer were the visible terrors of the wrath of God, have been subdued to the service of man. Art and luxuries which could be possessed and enjoyed only by the rich and noble, the works of genius which were read and understood only by the learned few, domestic comforts and surroundings beyond the reach of lord or bishop, now adorn and illumine the homes of our citizens. Serfs are sovereigns and the people are kings. The trophies and splendors

of their reign are commonwealths, rich in every attribute of great States, and united in a Republic whose power and prosperity and liberty and enlightenment are the wonder and admiration of the world.

All hail, Columbus, discoverer, dreamer, hero, and apostle! We here, of every race and country, recognize the horizon which bounded his vision and the infinite scope of his genius. The voice of gratitude and praise for all the blessings which have been showered upon mankind by his adventure is limited to no language, but is uttered in every tongue. Neither marble nor brass can fitly form his statue. Continents are his monument, and unnumbered millions present and to come, who enjoy in their liberties and their happiness the fruits of his faith, will reverently guard and preserve, from century to century, his name and fame.

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

(Peroration of the Address, Delivered October 28th, 1886, at the Dedication of the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor)

American liberty has been for a century a beacon light for the nations. Under its teachings and by the force of its example, the Italians have expelled their petty and arbitrary princelings and united under a parliamentary government; the gloomy despotism of Spain has been dispelled by the representatives of the people and a free press; the great German race has demonstrated its power for empire and its ability to govern itself. The Austrian monarch, who, when a hundred years ago Washington pleaded with him across the seas for the release of Lafayette from the dungeon of Olmutz, replied that "he had not the power," because the safety of his throne and his pledges to his royal brethren of Europe compelled him to keep confined the one man who represented the enfranchisement of the people of every race and country, is to-day, in the person of his successor, rejoicing with his subjects in the limitations of a Constitution which guarantees liberties, and a Congress which protects and enlarges them. Magna Charta, won at Runnymede for Englishmen, and developing into the principles of the Declaration of Independence with their descendants, has returned to the mother country to bear fruit in an open Parlia-

ment, a free press, the loss of royal prerogative, and the passage of power from the classes to the masses.

The sentiment is sublime which moves the people of France and America, the blood of whose fathers, commingling upon the battlefields of the Revolution, made possible this magnificent march of liberty and their own Republics, to commemorate the results of the past and typify the hopes of the future in this noble work of art. The descendants of Lafayette, Rochambeau, and De Grasse, who fought for us in our first struggle, and Laboulaye, Henri Martin, De Lesseps, and other grand and brilliant men, whose eloquent voices and powerful sympathies were with us in our last, conceived the idea, and it has received majestic form and expression through the genius of Bartholdi.

In all ages the achievements of man and his aspirations have been represented in symbols. Races have disappeared and no record remains of their rise or fall, but by their monuments we know their history. The huge monoliths of the Assyrians and the obelisks of the Egyptians tell their stories of forgotten civilizations, but the sole purpose of their erection was to glorify rulers and preserve the boasts of conquerors. They teach sad lessons of the vanity of ambition, the cruelty of arbitrary power, and the miseries of mankind. The Olympian Jupiter enthroned in the Parthenon expressed in ivory and gold the awful majesty of the Greek idea of the king of the gods; the bronze statue of Minerva on the Acropolis offered the protection of the patron goddess of Athens to the mariners who steered their ships by her helmet and spear; and in the Colossus of Rhodes, famed as one of the wonders of the world, the Lord of the Sun welcomed the commerce of the East to the city of his worship. But they were all dwarfs in size and pigmies in spirit beside this mighty structure and its inspiring thought. Higher than the monument in Trafalgar Square, which commemorates the victories of Nelson on the sea; higher than the Column Vendome, which perpetuates the triumphs of Napoleon on the land; higher than the towers of the Brooklyn bridge, which exhibit the latest and grandest results of science, invention, and industrial progress, this Statue of Liberty rises toward the heavens to illustrate an idea which nerved the three hundred at Thermopylæ and armed the ten thousand at Marathon; which drove Tarquin from Rome and aimed the arrow of Tell; which charged with Cromwell and his Ironsides and accompanied Sidney to the block; which fired the

farmer's gun at Lexington and razed the Bastile in Paris; which inspired the charter in the cabin of the Mayflower and the Declaration of Independence from the Continental Congress.

It means that with the abolition of privileges to the few and the enfranchisement of the individual; with the equality of all men before the law and universal suffrage; with the ballot secure from fraud and the voter from intimidation; with the press free and education furnished by the State for all; with liberty of worship and free speech; with the right to rise and equal opportunity for honor and fortune, the problems of labor and capital, of social regeneration and moral growth, of property and poverty, will work themselves out under the benign influences of enlightened law-making and law-abiding liberty, without the aid of kings and armies, or of anarchists and bombs.

Through the Obelisk, so strangely recalling to us of yesterday the past of twenty centuries, a forgotten monarch says, "I am the Great King, the Conqueror, the Chastiser of Nations," and except as a monument of antiquity it conveys no meaning and touches no chord of human sympathy. But, for unnumbered centuries to come, as Liberty levels up the people to higher standards and a broader life, this statue will grow in the admiration and affections of mankind. When Franklin drew the lightning from the clouds, he little dreamed that in the evolution of science his discovery would illuminate the torch of Liberty for France and America. The rays from this beacon, lighting this gateway to the continent, will welcome the poor and the persecuted with the hope and promise of homes and citizenship. It will teach them that there is room and brotherhood for all who will support our institutions and aid in our development, but that those who come to disturb our peace and dethrone our laws are aliens and enemies forever. I devoutly believe that from the unseen and the unknown two great souls have come to participate in this celebration. The faith in which they died fulfilled, the cause for which they battled triumphant, the people they loved in the full enjoyment of the rights for which they labored and fought and suffered, the spirit voices of Washington and Lafayette join in the glad acclaim of France and the United States to Liberty Enlightening the World.

THE MILITARY SPIRIT IN AMERICA

(Delivered at the Banquet to Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Given at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, November 11th, 1898)

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

NEW YORK gives cordial greeting to the commanding general of the American army. New York's welcome is the applause of the United States. This metropolis is more than a great city. It surpasses all other cities in the representative character of its population. The sons of every State in the Union are living in our midst, while our foreign population is larger than many of the cities in the lands from which they came. New York is the second largest city in the world within its own corporate limits. If we add the population which naturally belongs to it, across the North River, on the shores of New Jersey, it is the largest city in the world. Within this room are gathered gentlemen from the North and the South, from the East and the West, and from the Pacific Slope. So better and more significantly than would be possible under any other circumstances, this great Republic honors to-night her foremost soldier.

So many governors are here, and they have spoken with such boastfulness of their several commonwealths that my frankness as a New Yorker compels me to speak plainly. The governor of Massachusetts in his eloquent address, after claiming for the Pilgrim State the origin of most of the institutions which make our country free and great, says, with a deprecating gesture, "Massachusetts does not claim everything." He evidently does not know the tendencies of his own State. The governor of Ohio having told us that all the men who have been generals, or would have been if they had had an opportunity, and all the men who have been Presidents or ought to have been, and all the greatness in every department of public life, hail from Ohio, compels me to repeat what I said many years ago at an Ohio dinner after hearing its orators, that if Shakespeare had written his famous plays in our time he would have said: "Some men are born great and some in Ohio."

We meet to-night in honor of a soldier. It has been only once in a generation that the fame and services of a soldier have commanded the attention of our people. This is the first

time since the Civil War, which closed thirty-three years ago, that the soldier has been sufficiently in evidence to receive decoration and applause. We are fond in our literature and our oratory of drawing sharp contrasts between the Old World and the New. We compare the governments of Europe with that of the United States, and the peoples of Europe with the citizens of our country. In these comparisons we always find much that is gratifying to our pride and our patriotism. The difference is widest in the military conditions and military and naval preparations of America and Europe. With the exception of Great Britain, in every European nation every man is a soldier for the first three years of his majority, and by conscription, while here we have nothing but voluntary enlistment. The peace establishment of Europe is 8,000,000 men; that of the United States, with 70,000,000 population, is only 27,000.

A meeting of American sovereigns, where every voter is recognized as a sovereign, would be a phenomenal gathering. A few years ago there was a meeting of the crowned heads of Europe. It was small, select, and brilliant. The sovereigns were attended by the great officers of their armies and their statesmen, who had also been, or were at the time, soldiers. The Czar of Russia proposed as the one sentiment of the evening, "To Our Order, the Soldier." The toast was both accurate and comprehensive. Every throne in the Old World has been carved by the sword. With the exception of Great Britain's, they rest upon bayonets, while the Chief Magistrate of the United States, is the choice of 14,000,000 independent citizen voters, and at the end of four years surrenders his place and power to the people.

When General Grant made his famous tour of the world, he was received at every court with the most distinguished consideration, not as an ex-President of the United States, but as a great captain who had commanded larger armies and won more victories than any other soldier of that period. He became weary of the continued pomp and ceremony, and when the day arrived for a presentation to the King of Sweden he escaped somehow from the American minister, the royal coach, with its gorgeously appareled horses, its outriders, and its royal guard, and appeared at the palace in his tourist costume — the costume of an American tourist at that. He paralyzed the flunkies in attendance by figuratively ringing the front door bell and sending in his card. The King received him as if he had come in

royal state. This very sensible sovereign said afterward, "General Grant, as the foremost soldier of his age, is the chief of our order, and therefore whatever ceremony he prescribes for his own reception is the right and proper method of according to him our hospitality."

I was in London last summer during the Jubilee days of Queen Victoria. I saw that wonderful and historic pageant, which illustrated the devotion of her people and the glories of her marvelous reign. The kings and princes, the generals and statesmen of the world were in that procession. Brilliant beyond language were the costumes, the uniforms, and the decorations which they wore,—all except our own embassador, who, by the regulations framed during a primitive period of isolation and provincialism, was compelled to appear in the early morning in this brilliant throng in a dress suit. If the regulations prescribed that he should appear as Daniel Webster always did, in a blue frock coat with brass buttons, and a buff vest, that would be an American uniform; or if they should prescribe that he appear in the close-buttoned frock coat, black "pants," and high standing collar, which is the traditional uniform of the American orator on state occasions, that would be American. But the dress suit in the morning is in touch with no American habit of the club, the drawing-room, the farm, the ranch, the mine, the business office, the social function, or the state ceremony. However, the regulations of the State Department do not apply to the officers of our army and navy. General Miles, in the full and effective uniform of the commanding general of the American army, rode among princes in the procession and sat his horse amid the royalties and marshals and generals of Europe at the review at Aldershot. His commanding figure and soldierly presence filled every American with honest pride both for our little army and that it had such a distinguished and admirable representative on this famous occasion. A Russian grand duke whom I knew came up to me in great excitement and fairly shouted,—though shouting is very bad form in Europe,—not anything about the parade or the procession or the significance of the event, but simply, "I have seen your American general." Here to-night, on this side of the ocean, we also show with our cheers that we are glad to see our American general.

Our wars have come but once in each generation since the formation of our Government. The hero of our Revolutionary

War, which closed in 1783, was General Washington. The gratitude of the people made him twice President of the United States, and he lives with imperishable and growing fame in the affections of his countrymen. The hero of the next war, which closed in 1814, was General Jackson, who was also twice President of the United States and is the titular saint of the Democratic party. Between 1814 and 1848 the country was at peace. The soldier was unknown in our civil life. It became fashionable to deride the army and to speak slightingly of the navy as of no use to a country situated like ours. The humorist, the caricaturist, and the satirist selected for their subjects training day and the State militia. The service was dropping into contempt. The War with Mexico developed instantly the military spirit of the Republic. The whole country was filled with warlike enthusiasm and anxiety to participate in the fight. We had two heroes from that war — General Scott and General Taylor. General Scott missed the presidency because of his unfortunate letter of acceptance of the nomination beginning, "I have just risen from a hasty plate of soup." From that line has become crystallized into a phrase that situation in American public life when a man has tumbled by his own folly into political defeat or oblivion, that he has "fallen into the soup." General Taylor became President of the United States.

Another generation passed, and we had the Civil War, which closed in 1865. This contest was a supreme demonstration that peace does not decrease the military ardor, the vigor, or the patriotism of the American citizen. It was a battle of Americans against Americans, in which a million volunteers lost their lives. The hero of that war was General Grant, who became twice President of the United States. Then we had long peace from 1865 to 1898. The American jingoes, who are perpetually seeking occasions for war, when no better reason offers, base their action upon the argument that the virility and manhood of a people degenerate unless kept alive by conditions which compel them to fight frequently for the honor and the flag of their country. Some of them have insisted for years that this period had arrived, that patriotism and self-sacrificing courage were yielding to gross materialism, and unless we had our war we would speedily see the decadence of the nation. But no sooner had war been declared against Spain than a generation which knew nothing of scars or of the battles the glories or the fury

of the fighting of the Civil War, rushed to the recruiting offices to enlist as volunteers in numbers ten times beyond what was named in the call for troops. Napoleon said: "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar." Scratch an American and you find a fighter. The inheritors of an ancestry which for generations have never yielded to a foe, have avenged wrongs, have vindicated right, have fought and died for their own liberty, and, more, have fought and died for the liberty of others, have to-day, as they will have under the inspiring spirit of liberty for all time, that dominant spirit which makes their country powerful, keeps their institutions pure and permanent and enlarges their own freedom.

I am delighted with the tribute which our governor-elect, Colonel Roosevelt, has paid to-night to the regular army. We never fail to give a full and deserved measure of applause and recognition to the volunteer soldiers. We have not sufficiently recognized the superb service and fidelity of our regular army. During the civil strife it was this small and invincible army which prevented the Government from being overthrown until the volunteers had been drilled into soldiers. They held aloft the standard which never fell, never retreated, and around which rallied the raw troops. At the close of the Civil War this army, which was always at the front, had dwindled by losses in battle to scarcely a regiment. At frontier posts, at forts on the coast, and in encampments, the regular army is always drilling and working. It becomes and remains the most complete fighting machine in the world. The intelligence of its soldiers puts the man behind the gun, who in all emergencies, where commands fail because commanders are shot, can take the initiative and hold the field or rush the battery. We must give more care and more skilled attention to this great arm of our service and raise it to the standard required by the conditions of our country and the numbers of our population. I do not mean a great standing army, but I do mean one which will be universally recognized by our people as a reasonable and respectable size and efficiency.

A singular illustration of the importance of the navy in the new conditions forced upon us by the victories it has won and its conquests in the Western Hemisphere and the Pacific Ocean is furnished by comparing the consideration it received in former wars and its present prominence. While Washington lives forever as the hero of the first war, Paul Jones is seldom men-

tioned; while General Jackson lives as the hero of our second war, we hear little of Decatur and Perry and the other great naval commanders; while Grant lives as the embodiment of our Civil War, we hear little of Farragut, Porter, or Paulding, but the historian of this war is likely to put the navy ahead of the army, and in the popular imagination of the future which will crystallize the war in its heroes, Dewey will stand beside Miles. The fame of Miles will live because of his brilliant record in the Civil War and campaigns against the Indians, and because the military successes which we had in the war with Spain were largely due to his plan of campaign and his broad and comprehensive strategy.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA SINCE THE SPANISH WAR

(Delivered at the Lotos Club Banquet to Lord Herschel, New York, November 5th, 1898)

Gentlemen:—

When an American has enjoyed the cordial hospitality of an English home, he is ever after craving an opportunity to reciprocate in his own country. He discovers that the traditional icy reserve and insular indifference with which the Englishman is popularly credited are only the shield and armor which protect the inhabitants of the centre and capital of the activities of the Old World from the frauds and fools of the whole world. When once thawed out, our kin across the sea can be as demonstrative and, in their own way, as jocose as the untamed natives of these Western wilds. An eminent medical authority, in a learned essay on heredity and longevity, advanced this theory: That the emigrant from the British Isles to our shores, under the influence of our dry and exciting atmosphere, becomes, in a few generations, abnormally nervous, thin, and dyspeptic. Between forty and fifty he can arrest the speed with which he is hurrying to an untimely grave, if he will move over to England. The climate there will work upon his ancestral tendencies, and he will develop backward to the original type. Instead of his restless spirit reading the epitaph upon his tombstone in the United States, he will be enjoying life in the old country in the seventies and eighties, be taking his daily gospel from the Times, and, on gouty days, lamenting modern degeneracy. The con-

verse must be equally true, and the Englishman who has passed his climacteric and is afflicted with inertia and adipose, will find in the sunshine and champagne air of America the return of the energy and athletic possibilities of his youth. Thus the two countries, in the exchange, will exhibit a type which, once safely past the allotted line of life, in their new environment, will keep going on forever. None of us want to quit this earthly scene so long as we can retain health and mind. The attractions of the heavenly city are beyond description, but residence there runs through such countless ages that a decade, more or less, before climbing the golden stairs, is a loss of rich experience this side, and not noticed on the other.

It is a singular fact that the United States has known England for nearly three hundred years, and England has known little about the United States until within the past ten years. Eight years ago Mr. Gladstone asked me about the newspapers in this country. I told him that the press in nearly all of our large cities had from a half to a whole column of European cables daily, and three columns on Sunday, and two-thirds of it was about English affairs. He expressed surprise and pleasure, and great regret that the English press was not equally full of American news. From ten to fifty lines on our markets was all the information British readers had about our interests, unless a lynching, a railroad smash-up, or a big corporation suddenly gone bankrupt commanded all the space required and gave a lively picture of our settled habits. English statesmen of all parties have been as well known and understood by our people for a quarter of a century as those of our own country, while beyond Lincoln, Grant, and Garfield, the British public never heard of our party leaders and public men. Such is the power and educational value of the press.

With the advent of Smalley, Norman, and others, sending full dispatches from the United States to the English newspapers, our press relations have become reciprocal. The American in England is as much in touch each morning with the happenings at home as the Englishman is in America with the affairs of Europe. This daily interchange of information as to the conditions, the situation, the opinions, and the mutual interests of the two countries has been of incalculable benefit in bringing about a better acquaintance and more cordial sentiments between these two great English-speaking nations. The better we know each

other, the riper grows our friendship. The publication of Bryce's 'American Commonwealth' was the dawn of a clearer understanding and closer relations. In my schooldays the boys of the village still played "Fee, fi, fow, fum, I smell the blood of an Englishman; dead or alive I will have some."

An East Tennessee Union farmer, coming into Knoxville in the early days of the Civil War, heard of Mason and Slidell, the Confederate commissioners, who were passengers for Europe on an English merchant vessel, having been taken off by force by an American cruiser and brought back prisoners to this country, and that Great Britain had demanded their release. "What?" he said in great astonishment, "Is that blasted old English machine going yet?" Now, and especially since the practical friendship shown to us by England during our war with Spain, the villagers cheer the *entente cordiale* between the two countries, and the Tennessee mountaineers and the Rugby colonists join in celebrating the Queen's birthday and the Fourth of July.

We have been for a hundred years evoluting toward the mutual understanding of each other and the intelligent friendship which existed between the greatest of Americans, George Washington, and a great Englishman, Lord Shelburne. Shelburne, beyond all of his countrymen, appreciated the American conditions and position in the Revolutionary War, and was the first of foreigners to form that estimate of Washington, as the foremost man of the world, which is now universally accepted. It was for him that Washington sat for a full-length portrait, which now holds the place of honor in the house of another great and brilliant English statesman and warm friend of the United States, Lord Rosebery. On Washington's initiative, and Shelburne's co-operation, the two countries made their famous Jay Treaty of 1796.

The Government of the United States is, and always has been, a lawyers' government. All but three of our Presidents were lawyers, and four-fifths of our Cabinet Ministers, and a large majority of both houses of Congress, have always been members of the bar. The embassador who framed and negotiated this treaty was that eminent jurist, John Jay, the first Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In this treaty, for the first time, I think, among nations, appeared the principle of the settlement by arbitration of disputes between nations. Such was the temper of the period, however, one hundred years ago, and such the jealous and hostile feelings between

America and England, that it required a long time, with all the influence of Washington, to have the treaty ratified by the Senate. Jay was burned in effigy by indignant mobs all over our country, and Lord Granville, the British Foreign Minister, was denounced by the opposition — England — as having been duped by Chief-Justice Jay, and the charge was one of the causes which led to the overthrow of the ministry of which he was a member. While that treaty has received little public notice, yet under it many cases which might have led to serious irritation have been settled, and notably, and most significant of all, the Geneva arbitration of the Alabama claims under the presidency, and with the cordial support of the greatest soldier of our Republic, General Grant. The Bench and the Bar of the United States have always approved and supported the principle of the Jay Treaty.

The common law and the interchangeable decisions of the courts of the United States and Great Britain have been a continuing and refreshing bond of union between the lawyers of the two countries. It was my privilege, in the midst of the Venezuelan excitement, to deliver the annual address before the State Bar Association of the State of New York. The subject I chose was 'International Arbitration,' and as a result of the discussion, this powerful body, with the calmness and judicious candor characteristic of the profession, unanimously adopted a memorial in favor of settling all disputes between Great Britain and the United States by arbitration and in favor of the establishment of an international court of dignity and power. This action received substantially the unanimous approval of the Bench and the Bar of the United States, and was met with equal warmth by our kin across the sea.

One of the best signs of our times, tending more to peace, humanity, and civilization than even the famous proclamation of the Russian Czar, has been, and is, the warm and increasing friendship between the great electorate — the democracy of Great Britain and the people of the United States. Sir Henry Irving told me, last summer, a story full of significance. It demonstrated that when the people of Great Britain and the people of the United States understood one another, they are, in many respects, one people. One of the most brilliant and eloquent platform orators the world has ever known was Henry Ward Beecher. During the time of our Civil War, when the press and the upper classes of Great Britain were largely hostile to us, Beecher went

abroad as a popular embassador from the people of the United States to the people of England. Irving said that when Beecher spoke at Manchester, the feeling among the operatives and artisans of that great manufacturing town was that if the North succeeded, the rebellion was put down, and the Union was preserved, in some way the cotton of the Southern States would be diverted, and their employment gone.

We are not unfamiliar with that sort of politics by misrepresentation in the United States. Irving said that at that time he was a young actor in a stock company in Manchester. Having secured a good position in the hall, he saw a maddened mob struggling to get hold of a handsome young man upon the platform, with the evident purpose of tearing him to pieces. The young man, Mr. Beecher, was protected by the leading citizens of Manchester and the police. It was half an hour before the crowd would listen to a word. The first five minutes of Beecher's speech set them wild again, and then Irving thought that Beecher would certainly be dragged from the platform and killed. By the exertions, however, of the gentlemen about the orator, a hearing was finally secured, and Beecher developed in his own masterly way the common language, the literature, and the ties of the two countries, the common origin of their liberty, and the common freedom of their people, the interest which every man had for himself and his children in the perpetuity and strength of free government in the American Republic. The first half-hour was silence, the second half-hour was tumultuous applause, the next hour was unanimous and enthusiastic approval, and at the close the crowd insisted upon bearing upon their shoulders and carrying in triumph to his lodgings the orator, whose cause they then understood.

The men of letters who write and speak in the English tongue have always been mutually appreciative, and always friends. It began with the father of American literature, Washington Irving, who was held by the British critic as a second Addison. Longfellow and Hawthorne of a recent period, and Mark Twain of to-day, find appreciation and applause,— find equal recognition and pride on both sides of the Atlantic.

It was not until we became involved in a war with a European power that Americans appreciated the extent and depth of this feeling of kinship among the English-speaking peoples across the Atlantic. A famous Scotch divine told me that when on the

one hand Emperor William had sent his telegram encouraging Kruger in South Africa to fight England, and on the other the Venezuelan message of President Cleveland was interpreted on the part of the United States as a challenge for a fight, he preached a sermon to a Scotch congregation. There are no other people so devoted and undemonstrative in the world inside the church as the Scotch Presbyterians. "But," said the preacher, "when I said that under no conditions would the people of Great Britain fight their kin in the United States, and that if there was to be fighting it must all be from the Americans, there was wild applause, but when I said that if the German Emperor moved one step further in the hostile action indicated by his telegram, the British fleet would sweep his vessels from the oceans, and British arms would capture all his colonies inside of sixty days, the congregation rose and gave cheers."

The war with Spain threatened the equilibrium of that delicate instrument known as the European balance of power, an instrument so delicate that it requires eight millions of soldiers and the waters of the globe covered with navies, to keep it from getting out of trim. Every consideration of the associations of ambitions in the East impelled the continental powers to sympathize with Spain. They proposed that all Europe should intervene, as was done in the Turko-Grecian War. Great Britain said: "No; we will take no part in any international action which is hostile to the United States." It was then proposed by the continental powers that they should intervene and Great Britain remain neutral. The reply of Great Britain was: "In that case England will be on the side of the United States." That ended the subject of interference in our Spanish War. That action promoted the peace of the world. That sentiment, flashed across the ocean, electrified the American people. That position, unanimously approved in Great Britain by the masses and by the classes, received such a recognition in the United States as only a great and generous people can give for a great and generous friendship. That action sent the current of the blood of English-speaking people flowing in like channels, and was the beginning of the era of good fellowship which is to have the most marked influence upon the story of nations and of peoples in the future history of the world.

Our guest, Lord Herschel, typifies that career common to all Americans, and which Americans delight to honor. He is the

architect of his own career, and by the greatest qualities of brain and character has successfully climbed to the highest office by which his country can honor and decorate a lawyer. The mission which brings him to this side is worthy of his great acquirements and his broad and catholic judgment. With the irritations and vexations which naturally arise between Canada and ourselves permanently removed, there is no spot on earth where the United States and Great Britain can seriously clash. With our possessions stretching at intervals of two thousand miles for harbors and coaling stations, for six thousand miles across the Pacific, we face the doors of the various gateways of the Orient, closed by the great powers of the world, except Great Britain, and we hail the open door which she offers for the entrance into China and the East for the products of our farms and our factories.

But yesterday there were four great powers governing the world, dividing territories of barbarous or semi-civilized peoples, and ruling the destinies of mankind. They were Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. To-day there are five. The last has come into this concert of nations by the unprecedented successes and marvelous victories of its hundred days of war. Two of the five, the United States and Great Britain, with the ties of common language and common law and like liberties, will work together naturally in this international development. They will not be, and they cannot be, bound or limited by a hard and fast alliance, offensive and defensive, like that which marks the Dreibund or the unknown relations between Russia and France. But there are relations, there are ties which are stronger than parchment treaties based upon selfishness, greed, or fear. They are the ties of blood, of language, and of common aims for the loftiest purposes for which peoples work and governments exist.

POETRY AND POLITICS IN BRITAIN

(Delivered in Chickering Hall, March 14th, 1885, after a Visit to England)

IN THE early morning we leave behind the great town, and in a few hours are sailing over Loch Lomond, the queen of the Scottish lakes. The vast expanse of water, the beautiful islands, the mountains rising peak on peak till lost in the clouds, the beetling crags which meet the waves make this one of the

few sights which fulfill expectations. Through the passes surrounding this lake, the Highland chieftains and their clans raided the Lowland farms. The Celtic warriors of the olden time followed the golden rule of the day:—

> "The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they do take who have the power,
> And they do keep who can."

The McGregors, the McFarlanes, the Colquhouns, here had their lairs, and fought those bloody battles which have given to literature some of its best poetry and romance. It was over these mountains that the fire signals flashed from peak to peak, calling the clansman to resist the invader, and it was through these glens that Roderick Dhu sent his fiery cross, while bold Rob Roy McGregor defied here his enemies, and far up above the beach you see the cave which was his shelter and retreat. But with all that nature has done for Scotland, and she has been very lavish, the country owes the magic charm with which her hills and vales are invested for all the world to the genius of three men — Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns, and John Knox.

I never shall forget the feelings of reverence and gratification with which I entered Abbotsford. It is a great, irregular house on the banks of the Tweed, designed by Sir Walter Scott to meet his passion for the age of chivalry. It is filled with objects suggestive of themes upon which he loved to write. In the armory are suspended from the walls the suits of mail, the lances and claymores which had belonged to many gallant knights and border chiefs, and in battle, in foray, and in the tournament had done bloody and glorious work. In the library were the twenty thousand volumes he knew so well, and upon the walls, among famous pictures, one of Queen Mary's severed head. Kings and queens and heroes had paid homage to his genius, and here are gifts from Napoleon, George IV., the Duke of Wellington, Admiral Nelson, and the Pope! Those he prized most were relics of Queen Mary, the dagger and pouch of Rob Roy, the sword of Bruce, the brooch of Flora McDonald, and the chair of Wallace. But it is when you enter his study that you seem to be communing with him in the flesh. Everything is undisturbed and ready for his return. His desk, his pen and inkstand, all the paraphernalia of his work, are there just as when they were the

instruments of his wonderful creations. The attendant takes his coat and hat from the closet, and brings out his cane, and you almost gasp for breath, so realistic is the impression, that as you have pictured him, so he will come in, to resent this intrusion on his privacy.

[From Scotland, Mr. Depew passed into England, and told his audience of the condition of the people, of the architectural wonders of the English cathedrals, and something of English politics. The following is his description of a debate he witnessed in the House of Commons:] —

When the debate opened, both sides were present in force. Facing each other, sat those fierce enemies and rising leaders of their respective parties — Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Randolph Churchill. Both are seeking to ride into power as the friends of the working man, and their success enforces Puck's apothegm: "What fools we mortals be!" Lord Randolph Churchill is the son of the Duke of Marlborough, and loyal to his class. His audacity is unbounded, and he is a veritable little gamecock of the House. But he is not and never will be a statesman. Mr. Chamberlain is a humbug and a demagogue, and in dress so much of a dandy as to be almost a dude over here. Even Mr. Justus Schwab would not follow him. He possesses immense wealth acquired as a manufacturer, and by drying up and driving out small dealers and reducing the wages of his workmen to the last penny they will bear; and then he seeks the workingmen's votes by proposing to confiscate the land. Bah, brother! Take the beam out of your own eye first.

Sir Stafford Northcote started the ball by an indictment of the Government. Though usually the dullest of speakers, this time he was so strong, direct, and incisive, that he made it exceedingly lively. Of course, he skipped over all the merits like a lawyer presenting his side, and bunched in most glaring colors the defects. Mr. Gladstone rose to reply, and we all felt that he knew the occasion demanded all his powers. In facility of speech, depth and breadth of information, and powers of presentation, I do not believe he has an equal in the world. He knew that the French had outgeneraled him in the East; Bismarck had stolen a march on him in Australia and Africa; his Egyptian policy had ended in a fiasco; Gordon was shut up in Khartoum, and commerce and trade were in dreadful straits. His efforts were to avoid meeting these issues and create false ones,

and he did it magnificently. He attacked members of the opposition fiercely and personally; he charged into every opening they offered. He was pathetic, eloquent, argumentative, and sarcastic. The Conservative leaders tried their best to prevent the younger men from being tempted by him into side discussions, and to confine him to a defense of his mistakes. But they failed, and the debate closed in a grand burst of oratory from the Premier, who had never touched a dangerous topic.

DERBY, EDWARD G. F. STANLEY, EARL OF

(1799–1869)

THE politics of the United States, during the whole of the nineteenth century, were deeply affected by the movement begun by Wilberforce in England for the manumission of British slaves. The movement originated in Revolutionary America, gathered fresh impetus from the speeches of French orators during the Revolution, and was urged on by the Liberals in the English parliament, not only as a humanitarian, but as a political measure. The English Conservatives could not maintain opposition to it, but they did secure gradual and compensated emancipation. It was for this that Edward Geoffrey Smith-Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, spoke in the House of Commons, May 14th, 1833.

He was born at Knowsley, Lancashire, March 29th, 1799. Entering Parliament in 1820, he became Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1830, and Colonial Secretary in 1833. In 1844, he became Baron Stanley, and in 1851 he succeeded to the Earldom of Derby. He was Premier of England in 1852, 1858–59, and 1866–68. His translation of the 'Iliad' is well known. He died October 23d, 1869.

THE EMANCIPATION OF BRITISH NEGROES

(From a Speech on Gradual Emancipation in the West Indies, Delivered in the House of Commons, May 18th, 1833)

A SLAVE proprietor, who was examined before the committee last year (I forget his name), told us that if a slave only looked his master in the face, he might order him to receive thirty-nine lashes. Is this the way to teach him to respect law, and prepare him for the immunities of a free man? Is it thus he is to be raised to a level with other men?

In 1826, Mr. Canning, talking of the dignity of man, quoted the lines:—

——— "*cælumque tueri*
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

But how can you tell the negro that he shall look up as a free man — how can you talk of hopes, encouragement, preparation for

individual freedom, and general emancipation, when even at this moment the slave dares not to raise his eyes to his master's face without the risk of receiving thirty-nine lashes? I do not speak of the actual exercise of any such power,—I do not believe it could be exercised,—but that such a power exists there can be no doubt. In case of unjust infliction the slave must go before two magistrates, themselves slave masters; and if he can persuade them to believe him, the master is to be prosecuted, and if found guilty by a jury, subjected to fine and imprisonment; but if the magistrates think the evidence insufficient, without any malicious motive on the part of the slave, he is to be subjected to a second flogging for having made the complaint. This is the practical working in Jamaica of the law in favor of the slave. But there is a further punishment:—in case aggravated, overwhelming cruelty be proved against a master, if a jury find that it has been atrocious, then an addition is to be made to the fine and imprisonment; and what is it? That the slave may be sold and the money handed over to the criminal master. This is the punishment inflicted on masters in Jamaica for conduct which is called atrocious. . . .

I am afraid I may disgust the House by details of the punishments inflicted; but they are a part of the system, and I must refer to them. I find that in 1829, when the slave population was 61,627, the number of punishments returned to the protectors was no less than 17,359; in the next year, when the population was 59,547, the punishments were increased to 18,324,—the number of lashes in that time amounting to 194,744. In the year 1831, the population being then only 58,000, the number of punishments were 21,656, the lashes being 199,500.

This was the official record of the punishments supplied to the protectors of slaves by the owners themselves; it did not include any punishments inflicted under judicial authority; not one of those inflicted by direction of a magistrate; but those domestic punishments alone, which, in the present state of the law, are sanctioned; and this return also, let it be recollected, is confined to the Crown colonies, and represents the domestic, irresponsible punishments which the owners of slaves have inflicted by their own authority. I will not impute any guilt to the owners of the slaves—I will not impute to them anything more than that perversion of moral feeling which it is one of the greatest curses of slavery, that it entails and impresses upon the mind of the

enslaver — I will not impute any want of the ordinary feelings of humanity, further than that they are perverted by prejudice and rendered callous by custom and habit — but I call upon the House to consider where punishments are unrecorded, where no check is interposed by the legal authority, where no remedy or no efficient remedy is given to the slave by authority of the law — to consider if, in this comparatively free state of Demerara, this be the amount of punishment inflicted in one year, what must be the nature of the system which is carried on in other colonies where there are no checks? What must be the degradation of the system under which the other colonies of the British Empire at this moment labor? What is the amount of unredressed injustice,— what is the amount of fatal oppression and cruel tyranny which calls upon this House to regulate, by interposing its solemn authority between this dreadful system of oppression and that which Mr. Canning called "the abstract love of the cart-whip"! . . .

There is also another object on which I am sure his Majesty's government will not appeal in vain to the House or to the country. I feel perfect confidence in calling upon this House to pledge itself, whether in aid of the local legislatures of the colonies, or without any aid from those legislatures, to establish a religious and moral system of education for the negroes. We are about to emancipate the slaves; the old, after a trial of their industrious and other good qualities — the young immediately. With the young, therefore, our responsibility will immediately commence. If we place them in a state of freedom, we are bound to see that they are fitted for the enjoyment of that state; we are bound to give them the means of proving to themselves that the world is not for merely animal existence, that it is not the lot of man merely to labor incessantly from the cradle to the grave, and that to die is not merely to get to the end of a wearisome pilgrimage. We must endeavor to give them habits and to imbue them with feelings calculated to qualify them for the adequate discharge of their duties here; and we must endeavor to instil into them the conviction that when those duties shall be discharged they are not "as the brutes that perish."

Sir, I have now gone through the various points to which I think it necessary to call the attention of the House. I know the difficulties, the almost insurmountable obstacles, which attend almost any plan with reference to this subject; and I know the

peculiar disadvantages under which I bring forward the present plan. But I entertain a confident hope that the resolutions which I shall have the honor to submit to the House contain a germ, which, in the process of time, will be matured, by better judgment and knowledge, into a perfect fruit; and that from the day on which the act passes there will be secured to the country, to the colonies, and to all classes of his Majesty's subjects, the benefit of a virtual extinction of all the horrors attendant on a state of slavery; and that, at no very distant period, by no uncertain operation, but by the effect of that machinery which the proposed plan will put in motion, the dark stain which disfigures the fair freedom of this country will be wholly wiped out. Sir, in looking to this most desirable object, it is impossible not to advert to those who first broached the mighty question of the extinction of slavery, the earliest laborers in that cause, the final triumph of which they were not destined to see. They struggled for the establishment of first principles — they were satisfied with laying the foundation of that edifice which they left it to their successors to rear; they saw the future, as the prophets of old saw "the days that were to come," but they saw it afar off, and with the eye of faith. It is not without the deepest emotion, I recollect, that there is yet living one of the earliest, one of the most religious, one of the most conscientious, one of the most eloquent, one of the most zealous friends of this great cause, who watched it in its dawn. Wilberforce still remains to see, I trust, the final consummation of the great and glorious work which he was one of the first to commence, and to exclaim, like the last of the prophets to whom I have already alluded: "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace."

Sir, it is with great regret that I have felt it necessary to detain the House so long; but on a subject of so much difficulty it was imperative upon me to do so. I will now, however, after thanking the House for the patience and attention with which they have been so good as to listen to me, conclude with offering up an ardent prayer that by the course which they may adopt they will for a second time set the world a glorious example of a commercial nation, weighing commercial advantages light in the balance against justice and religion; that they will achieve the great object of extinguishing slavery, gradually, safely, but at the same time completely,— a result the more to be desired, if accomplished by a yielding on one side and the other,

which may make both sides forget extreme opinion, and which will exhibit a great and proud example of a deliberative assembly, reconciling conflicting interests, liberating the slave without inflicting hardship on his master, gratifying the liberal and humane spirit of the age, without harming even those who stand in its way, and vindicating their high functions moderately, but with determination, and in a manner honorable to the people of whom they are the representatives, and acting in a manner on this important question which will afford a sure pledge of a successful termination of the glorious career on which they are about to enter.

SIR EDWARD DERING

(1598–1644)

SIR EDWARD DERING was Member from Kent and Chairman of the Committee on Religion in the Long Parliament. A graduate of Cambridge and a man of scholarly tastes, he was inclined to sympathize strongly with the people in their grievances against abuses in Church and State, but when he attempted to hold a middle course between the Puritans and the extreme advocates of a political episcopacy, he failed so signally that the Puritan element impeached him for treason. His speeches in favor of a modified episcopacy and an educated clergy separated him from the popular party and forced him to side with the King for whom he fought after he escaped the process of Parliament. He was born in the Tower of London, January 28th, 1598, his father being at that time deputy-lieutenant of the Tower. He died June 22d, 1644. Among the various works left by him were a volume of his speeches prepared and published by himself. It was this volume which excited the anger of the Puritans against him. It was burned by order of the House of Commons, and he was sent to the Tower because of it.

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING

(Delivered in the English Parliament, November 22d, 1841, Against Passing the Remonstrance)

Mr. Speaker:—

THIS has been a very accusative age; yet have I not heard any superstition, much less idolatry, charged, much less proved, upon the several Bishops of London, Winchester, Chester, Carlisle, Chichester.

Parcite paucorum crimen diffundere in omnes. Not for love unto the persons of the Bishops, but for honor to our religion, although the times of late have been somewhat darkened, yet let us not make the day blacker in report than it is in truth.

In the last place I observe a promise in general words: That learning shall be rather advanced than discouraged: *Sed quid verbe audio, cum facta videam.*

Great rewards do beget great endeavors; and certainly when the great basin and ewer are taken out of the lottery, you shall have few adventures for small plate and spoons only.

If any man could cut the moon out all into little stars, although we might still have the same moon, or as much in small pieces, yet we shall want both light and influence.

To hold out the golden ball of honor and of profit is both policy and honesty, and will be operative upon the best natures and the most pious minds.

But, Mr. Speaker, if I observe aright, learning (I mean religious learning) in this remonstrance is for one-half thereof utterly unthought on. And because I hear often speech of one-half, but seldom mention of the other, give me leave, I beseech you, in this theme a little to enlarge myself; if your remonstrance once pass, it will too late, I fear, to enter this plea.

It is, I dare say, the unanimous wish, the concurrent sense of this whole House to go such a way as may best settle and secure an able, learned, and fully sufficient ministry among us. This ability, this sufficiency, must be of two several sorts.

It is one thing to be able to preach and to fill the pulpit well; it is another ability to confute the perverse adversaries of truth, and to stand in that breach. The first of these gives you the wholesome food of sound doctrine; the other maintains it for you, and defends it from such harpies as would devour or else pollute it. Both of these are supremely necessary for us and for our religion.

Both are of divine institution. The holy Apostle requireth both. Both to call and to convince. First to preach, that he be able with sound doctrine to exhort; and then to convince the gainsayers. For, saith he, there are many deceivers whose mouths must be stopped.

Now, sir, to my purpose; these double abilities, these several sufficiencies, may perhaps sometime meet together in one and the same man, but seldom, very seldom, so seldom that you scarce can find a very few among thousands rightly qualified in both.

Nor is this so much infelicity of our time, or any times, as it is generally the incapacity of man, who cannot easily raise himself up to double excellencies.

Knowledge in religion doth extend itself into so large, so vast a sphere, that many do out-cross the diameter, and find weight

enough in half their work; very few do or can travel the whole circle round.

Some one in an age, perhaps, may be found, who, as Sir Francis Drake about the terrestrial globe, may have traveled the celestial orb of theological learning, both for controversial and instructive divinity.

The incomparable primate of Ireland deserves first to be named. Bishop Morton, whom I mentioned before, is another reverend worthy and hath highly deserved of our Church in both capacities. Jewel, of pious memory, is another Bishop never to be forgotten. Some few others I could name, able and active both for pulpit and the pen. But, sir, these be *raræ aves*, and there are very few of them.

The reason is evident. For whilst one man doth chiefly intend the pulpit exercises, he is thereby disabled for polemic discourses; and whilst another indulgeth to himself the faculty of his pen, he thereby renders himself the weaker for the pulpit. Some men aiming at eminency in both have proved but mean proficients in either. For it is a rule and a sure one:—

Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula.

Now, sir, such a way, such a temper, of Church government and of Church revenue, I must wish, as may best secure unto us both; both for preaching to us at home, and for convincing such as are abroad.

Let me be always sure of some champions in our Israel, such as may be ready and able to fight the Lord's battle against the Philistines of Rome, the Socinians of the North, the Arminians and Semi-Pelagians of the West, and generally against heretics and atheists everywhere. God increase the number of his laborers within his vineyard, such as may plentifully and powerfully preach faith and good life among us. But never let us want some of these watchmen also about our Israel, such as may from the Everlasting Hills (so the Scriptures are called) watch for us, aud destroy the common enemy, which way soever he shall approach. Let us maintain both pen and pulpit. Let no Ammonite persuade the Gileadite to fool out his right eye, unless we be willing to make a league with destruction and to wink at ruin, whilst it comes upon us.

Learning, sir, it is invaluable; the loss of learning, it is not in one age recoverable. You may have observed that there

hath been a continual spring, a perpetual growth of learning, ever since it pleased God first to light Luther's candle; I might have said Wickliff's, and justly so I do, for even from that time unto this day and night and hour, this light hath increased; and all this while our better cause hath gained by this light, which doth convince our *Miso-musists* and doth evict that learning and religion, by their mutual support, are like hypocrite twins,—they laugh and mourn together.

But, sir, notwithstanding all this so long increase of learning, there is *terra incognita*, a great land of learning not yet discovered; our adversaries are daily trading, and we must not sit down and give over, but must encourage and maintain and increase the number of our painful adventurers for the Golden Fleece; and except the fleece be of gold, you shall have no adventurers.

RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY IN PARLIAMENT

(From a Speech on the State of the Kingdom, November 20th, 1641)

Mr. Speaker:—

MUCH has been said and attempted to be done to regulate the exterior part of our religion; but, sir, we bleed inwardly. Much endeavor hath been to amend the deformed shape we were in, and to new govern the government; yet, sir, this is but the leaves of good religion, fit, I confess notwithstanding, to be taken care of for beauty and for ornament. Nay, some leaves are fit and necessary to be preserved for shadow and for shelter to the blossoms and the fruit.

The fruit of all is good life, which you must never expect to see, unless the blossoms be pure and good; that is, unless your doctrines be sound and true.

Sir, I speak it with full grief of heart, whilst we are thus long pruning and composing of the leaves, or rather whilst some would pluck all leaves away, our blossoms are blasted; and whilst we sit here in cure of government and ceremonials, we are poisoned in our doctrinals. And at whose door will the guilt and sin of all this lie?

Qui non vetat peccare cum potest, jubet.

It is true that this mischief grows not by our consent; and yet I know not by what unhappy fate there is at present such

an all-daring liberty, such a lewd licentiousness, for all men venting their several senses — senseless senses — in matter of religion, as never was in any age or in any nation until this Parliament were met together.

Sir, it belongs to us to take heed that our countenance, the countenance of this honorable House, be not prostituted to sinister ends by bold offenders. If it be in our power to give a remedy, a timely and seasonable remedy, to these great and growing evils, and if we, being also put in mind, shall neglect to do it, we then do pluck their sins upon our own heads.

Alienum qui fert scelus, facit suum.

Shall I be bold to give you a very few instances? one for a hundred, wherewith our pulpits do groan?

Mr. Speaker, there is a certain newborn, unseen, ignorant, dangerous, desperate way of independence. Are we, sir, for this independent way? Nay, are we for the elder brother of it, the presbyterial form? I have not yet heard any one gentleman within these walls stand up and assert his thoughts here for either of these ways, and yet we are made the patrons and protectors of these so different, so repugnant innovations; witness the several dedications to us. . . .

One absurdity leads to a thousand, and when you are down the hill of error there is no bottom but in hell, and that is bottomless too. Shall I be bold to give you one (and but one) instance more? Much clamor now there is against our public liturgy, though hallowed with the blood of some of the first composers thereof. And surely, sir, some parts of it may be well corrected. But the clamors now go very high. Impudence and ignorance are now grown so frontless that it is loudly expected by many that you should utterly abrogate all forms of public worship, and at least if you have a short form yet not to impose the use of it. Extirpation of episcopacy, that hope is already wallowed, and now the same men are as greedy for the abolition of the liturgy, that so the Church of England in her public prayers may hereafter turn a babbler at all adventure — a brainless, stupid, and ignorant conceit of some. . . .

I might have added in due place above a mention of: (1) Frequent schismatical conventicles. (2) That tailors, shoemakers, braziers, feltmakers do climb our public pulpits. (3) That several odd irregular fasts have been held for partial venting of private

flatteries of some; slanders of other members of this house. (4) That the distinction of the clergy and laity is popish and anti-Christian and ought no longer to remain. (5) That the Lord's Prayer was not taught us to be used. (6) That no national Church can be a true Church of God. (7) That the visible Church of anti-Christ did make the King head of the Church. (8) That supreme power in Church affairs is in every several congregation. (9) That a presbytery without a Bishop was in the world before it was at Geneva. (10) That it is a heinous sin to be present when prayers are read out of a book. (11) That to communicate in presence of a profane person is to partake of his profaneness. (12) That Christ's kingdom hath been a candle under a bushel, whilst anti-Christ hath outreigned him for one thousand six hundred years together.

Many more instances at little leisure I can gather, which together have begotten a general increase of open Libertinism, secret Atheism, bold Arminianism, desperate Socinianism, stupid Anabaptism, and with these the new Chiliastes, and the willfulness of Papists strangely and strongly confirmed by these distractions.

Good God! look down and direct our consultations, the best issue whereof, I think, would be to debate the whole debate of religion out of our doors, by putting it into a free synod, whereupon I doubt not but we should grow unanimous in all our other works.

RAYMOND DESEZE

(1748–1828)

RAYMOND DESEZE (who after the Bourbon Restoration was known as Raymond, Count de Seze) has been greatly admired for his boldness in defending Louis XVI. before the Convention of 1792–93, which condemned and ordered him to the scaffold. The peroration of his speech in behalf of Louis represents the whole so fully, and is so fully characteristic of the speaker, that the reader will have no great difficulty in deciding the extent to which Deseze impressed the Terrorists around him as an uncompromising and dangerous opponent of their methods. He was born in Bordeaux in 1748. Practicing at the Paris bar, he had already become celebrated as an advocate when Malesherbes asked him to undertake the King's defense before the Convention. The result was a foregone conclusion and it might be unjust to expect from Deseze a more burning zeal than he shows for the interests of his royal client. He does show dignified and manly adherence as a lawyer to the cause of a client who had no other friend, and that is much. After the Restoration, he was rewarded for the speech by being made President of the Court of Cassation and a peer of France. He died in 1828. Napoleon once denounced him as an English agent. This is said to be unjust; and even if it were true, it would not be a reproach to a Royalist attempting to restore the Bourbons through the influence of their foreign allies.

DEFENDING LOUIS XVI.

(Delivered in the French Convention, December 12th, 1792)

Representatives of the Nation:—

THAT moment is at length arrived when Louis, accused in the name of the French people, appears, surrounded by his own council, in order to exhibit his conduct to the eyes of mankind. A celebrated republican hath said that the calamities of kings always inspire the minds of those men with sympathy and tenderness who have lived under a monarchical form of government. If this maxim be true, who can invoke it with more justice than Louis, whose misfortunes are unbounded, and whose

losses and calamities cannot be calculated? You have called him to your bar, and he appears before you with calmness and with dignity, fortified in the consciousness of his own innocence and in the goodness of his intentions. These are testimonies which must console, these are testimonies of which it is impossible to bereave him. He can only declare to you his innocence; I appear here in order to demonstrate it; and I shall adduce the proofs before that very people in whose name he is now accused

The present silence demonstrates to me that the day of justice has at length succeeded to the days of prejudice. The misfortunes of kings have something in them infinitely more affecting than those of private men; and he who formerly occupied the most brilliant throne in the universe ought to excite a still more powerful interest in his behalf.

I wish that I now spoke before the whole nation; but it will be sufficient to address myself to its representatives. Louis well knows that the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon this prosecution; but his mind is entirely occupied with France. He is sure that posterity will carefully collect and examine the charges and proofs adduced against him, but he thinks only of his contemporaries; and it is the first wish of his heart to undeceive them. If I were only addressing myself at this moment to his judges, I should say: "Royalty is abolished, and you cannot now pronounce any other sentence against him"; but I am speaking to the people. I shall therefore examine the situation of Louis previous to the abolition of royalty and the situation of Louis at its abolition.

Nations are sovereigns; they are at liberty to assume any species of government that appears most agreeable to themselves. After having recognized and discovered the badness of their ancient form, they may enact for themselves a new one; this is a position which one of the council of Louis procured the insertion of in the constitutional code. But the whole nation cannot exercise the sovereignty; it is necessary, therefore, that it should delegate the exercise of it.

In 1789 the people of France demanded a monarchical form of government; now a monarchical government requires the inviolability of the chief, and this inviolability was established, not in behalf of the king, but of the nation.

Much has been said on this subject. Some have pretended that it is not a synallagmatic contract, but a delegation. It is,

however, a contract until it is revoked; but let it be called a mandate if you please! Let it be recollected, however, that the mandatory is not obliged to submit to any other conditions, or any other penalties, than those expressed in the letter of the compact. I open the book of the Constitution, and in the second chapter, which has by way of title "Royalty," I there find that the king is inviolable; there is not any exception in, nor any modification of, this article, but certain circumstances may occur, when the first public functionary may cease to enjoy this character of inviolability. The following is the first instance.

ART. V. "If the king shall not take the oath, or, after having taken it, he retract, he shall be considered as having abdicated the royalty."

The nation here hath foreseen a crime and enacted a forfeiture, but there is not a single word to be found concerning either trial or judgment. However, as, without retracting an oath, a king might betray and favor criminal and hostile principles against the State, the nation hath been aware of this, and the Constitution hath provided against it.

ART. VI. "If the king place himself at the head of an army and direct the forces against the nation, or if he doth not oppose himself, by a formal act, to any enterprise of this kind made in his name, he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne."

I beseech you to reflect on the heinous nature of this offense; there cannot be a more criminal one. It supposes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the treasons, all the horrors, all the calamities of bloody civil war; and yet what does the constitution pronounce? The presumption of having abdicated the throne!

ART. VII. "If the king, having left the kingdom, shall not return immediately after an invitation made to him by the legislative body, then, etc."

What does the Constitution pronounce upon this occasion? The presumption of having abdicated the throne.

ART. VIII. says, "that after an abdication, either express or implied, the king shall then be tried in the same manner as all other citizens, for such crimes as he may commit after his abdication."

Louis is accused of sundry offenses. He is accused in the name of the nation. Now, either these offenses have been foreseen by the constitutional act, and then the corresponding punishment is to be applied to them, or they have not; and if so, it follows that no punishment can follow from their commission. But I say that the most atrocious of all possible offenses hath been foreseen — that of a cruel war against the nation; and this surely includes all inferior crimes, and consequently points out the extent of all constitutional punishment.

I know that royalty being now abolished, deprivation cannot at present be applied. But has not Louis a right to exclaim: "What! will you, because you have abolished royalty, inflict a punishment on me, not mentioned in the constitutional code? Because no existing law can punish me, will you create one expressly on purpose? You possess every degree of power, it is true, but there is one species which you dare not execute, that of being unjust."

It has been said that Louis ought to be condemned as an enemy, but is he a greater enemy than if he had put himself at the head of an army in order to act against the nation? And you all know that in such a case, he could not have incurred more than a forfeiture of the crown! But if you take away from Louis the prerogative of being inviolable as a king, you cannot deprive him of the right of being tried as a citizen. And I here demand of you, where are those propitiatory forms of justice? Where are those juries which are so many hostages, as it were, for the lives and honor of citizens? Where is that proportion of suffrages which the law has so wisely required? Where is that silent scrutiny which in the same urn incloses the opinion and the conscience of the judge?

I now speak with the frankness becoming a freeman; it is in vain that I look around and search among you for judges — I can see none but accusers. You wish to pronounce upon the fate of Louis, and yet you have accused him! Will you decide his doom after having already expressed your opinion on his conduct?

CAMILLE DESMOULINS

(1760–1794)

WHEN the ill-fated Louis XVI. dismissed Necker, Camille Desmoulins, hearing the news in a café in the Palais Royal, leaped on a table, defied the police, and with a pistol in each hand, made the speech which precipitated the actual Revolution. He called the people to arms, declaring that the action of the King was "the tocsin for the Bartholomew of the patriots." From that time until he was executed with the Dantonists in April 1794, Desmoulins was one of the great forces of the Revolution. He was born at Guise, in Picardy, March 2d, 1760. His father, who was Lieutenant-General of the bailiwick of Guise, educated him carefully, and Camille acquired a familiarity with the classics which, as editor of the Vieux Cordelier, he made use of to show the advantage of republics over monarchies, of democracies over aristocracies. He stammered so painfully that, as a rule, his great eloquence found vent only at the point of his pen. His street speeches were made only when he was transported out of himself by excitement, and only scraps of them are reported. It is said that in his great speech of July 12th, 1789, on the dismissal of Necker, the stammering habit which usually kept him silent in public assemblages, lost its hold on him, and that he spoke with the utmost fluency. The extract, 'Live Free or Die,' translated from the Vieux Cordelier, is characteristic both of his style and of his habit of thought. He is always classical. It was through too frequent illustrations from Tacitus that he aroused the anger of Robespierre, which sent him to the guillotine.

LIVE FREE OR DIE

(February 1788)

ONE difference between the monarchy and the republic, which alone should suffice to make the people reject with horror all monarchial rule and make them prefer the republic regardless of the cost of its establishment, is that in a democracy, though the people may be deceived, yet, at least, they love virtue. It is merit that they believe they put in power in place

of the rascals who are the very essence of monarchies. The vices, the concealments, and the crimes which are the diseases of republics are the very health and existence of monarchies. Cardinal Richelieu avowed openly in his political principles, that "the King should always avoid using the talents of thoroughly honest men." Long before him Sallust said: "Kings cannot get along without rascals. On the contrary, they should fear to trust the honest and the upright."

It is, therefore, only under a democracy that the good citizen can reasonably hope to see a cessation of the triumphs of intrigue and crime; and to this end the people need only to be enlightened.

There is yet this difference between a monarchy and the republic; the reigns of Tiberius, of Claudius, of Nero, of Caligula, of Domitian, had happy beginnings. In fact, all reigns make a joyous entry, but only as a delusion. Therefore the Royalists laugh at the present state of France as if its violent and terrible entry under the republic must always last.

Everything gives umbrage to a tyrant. If a citizen have popularity, he is becoming a rival to the prince. Consequently, he is stirring up civil strife, and is a suspect. If, on the contrary, he flee popularity and seclude himself in the corner of his own fireside, this retired life makes him remarked, and he is a suspect. If he is a rich man, there is an imminent peril that he corrupt the people with his largesses, and he is a suspect. Are you poor? How then! Invincible emperors, this man must be closely watched; no one so enterprising as he who has nothing. He is a suspect! Are you in character sombre, melancholy, or neglectful? You are afflicted by the condition of public affairs, and are a suspect.

If, on the contrary, the citizen enjoy himself and have resultant indigestion, he is only seeking diversion because his ruler has had an attack of gout, which made his Majesty realize his age. Therefore he is a suspect. Is he virtuous and austere in his habits? Ah! he is a new Brutus with his Jacobin severity, censuring the amiable and well-groomed court. He is a suspect. If he be a philosopher, an orator, or a poet, it will serve him ill to be of greater renown than those who govern, for can it be permitted to pay more attention to the author living on a fourth floor than to the emperor in his gilded palace. He is a suspect.

Has one made a reputation as a warrior—he is but the more dangerous by reason of his talent. There are many resources with an inefficient general. If he is a traitor he cannot so quickly deliver his army to the enemy. But an officer of merit like an Agricola—if he be disloyal, not one can be saved. Therefore, all such had better be removed and promptly placed at a distance from the army. Yes, he is a suspect.

Tacitus tells us that there was anciently in Rome a law specifying the crimes of "Lese-Majesté." That crime carried with it the punishment of death. Under the Roman Republic treasons were reduced to but four kinds, viz., abandoning an army in the country of an enemy; exciting sedition; the maladministration of the public treasury; and the impairment by inefficiency of the majesty of the Roman people. But the Roman emperors needed more clauses, that they could place cities and citizens under proscription.

Augustus was the first to extend the list of offenses that were "Lese-Majesté" or revolutionary, and under his successors the extensions were made until none were exempt. The slightest action was a State offense. A simple look, sadness, compassion, a sigh, even silence was "Lese-Majesté" and disloyalty to the monarch. One must needs show joy at the execution of their parent or friend lest they would perish themselves. Citizens, liberty must be a great benefit, since Cato disemboweled himself rather than have a king. And what king can we compare in greatness and heroism to the Cæsar whose rule Cato would not endure? Rousseau truly says: "There is in liberty as in innocence and virtue a satisfaction one only feels in their enjoyment and a pleasure which can cease only when they are lost."

SIR SIMON D'EWES

(1602–1650)

SIR SIMON (SIMONDS?) D'EWES, the celebrated antiquary, was a Member of the Long Parliament and helped by his eloquence to make it celebrated among the deliberative bodies of the world. Of the three of his speeches of 1640 which are preserved in verbatim reports, that on the 'Antiquity of Cambridge' is the most characteristic of the man and of the learning of the educated classes of a time when education, devoting itself to what Raleigh called "tickle points of niceness," was rendering its possessors foreign to the great body of the English people. On the eve of one of the greatest revolutions of history, D'Ewes took advantage of the fact that the name of Cambridge appeared above that of Oxford in a document under consideration by the House to make a learned and interesting speech — at which, under the circumstances, posterity cannot fail to wonder.

He was born at Coxden, in Dorsetshire, December 18th, 1602, and died April 8th, 1650. He collected the journals of the Parliaments held during the reign of Elizabeth, and his manuscripts sold after his death to Sir Robert Harley are now among the treasures of the British Museum.

THE ANTIQUITY OF CAMBRIDGE

(Delivered in Parliament, January 21st, 1640)

I STAND up to persuade, if it may be, the declining of the present question and the further dispute of this business. Yesterday we had long debate about the putting out of a word, and now we are fallen upon the dispute of putting one word before another. I account no honor to Cambridge that it got the precedency by voices at the former committee, nor will it be any glory to Oxford to gain it by voices here, where we all know the multitudes of borough towns of the western parts of England do send so many worthy Members hither, that if we measure things by number, and not by weight, Cambridge is

sure to lose it. I would therefore propound a more noble way and means for the decision of the present controversy than by question, in which, if the University of Oxford (which for my own part I do highly respect and honor) shall obtain the prize, it will be far more glory to it than to carry it by multitude of voices, which, indeed, can be none at all. Let us therefore dispute it by reason, and not make an idol of either place, and if I shall be so convinced I shall readily change my vote, wishing we may find the same ingenuity in the Oxford men.

There are two principal respects, besides others, in which these famous universities may claim precedency each of the other.

Firstly, in respect of their being, as they were places of note in the elder ages.

Secondly, as they were ancient nurseries and seed plots of learning. If I do not, therefore, prove that Cambridge was a renowned city at least three hundred years before there was a house of Oxford standing, and whilst brute beasts fed, or corn was planted on that place, where the same city is now seated, and that Cambridge was a nursery of learning before Oxford was known to have a Grammar School in it, I will yield up the bucklers. If I should lose time to reckon up the vain allegations produced for the antiquity of Oxford by Twyne, and of Cambridge by Cajus, I should but repeat *deliria senum*, for I account the most of that they have published in print to be no better. But I find my authority without exception, that in the ancient catalogue of cities of Britain, Cambridge is the ninth in number, where London itself is but the eleventh, and who would have thought that ever Oxford should have contended for precedency with Cambridge, which London gave it above twelve hundred years. This I find in 'Gildas Albanius,' his British story, who died about the year 520, being the ancientest domestic monument we have (page 60); and in a Saxon anonymous story in Latin, touching the Britons and Saxons (page 39), who saith of himself that he lived in the days of Penda, King of the Mercians, in the tenth year of his reign, and that he knew him well, which falls out to be near the year 620. And lastly, I find the catalogue of the said British cities, with some little variation, to be set down in 'Nennius,' his Latin story of Britain (page 38), and he wrote the same, as he says of himself, in the year 880. They all call it "Cair-grant,"—the word "Cair" in the old Celtic tongue signifying city.

These three stories are exotic, and rare monuments, remaining yet only in ancient manuscripts amongst us not known to many; but the authority of them is irrefragable and without exception. The best and most ancient copies that I have seen of 'Gildas Albanius' and 'Nennius' remain in the University library of Cambridge, being those I have vouched, and the 'Saxon Anonymous' in a library we have near us. This Cairgrant is not only expounded by Alfred of Beverley to signify Cambridge, but also by William de Ramsey, Abbot of Croyland, in his manuscript story of the life of 'Guthlacas,' ignorantly in those elder days reputed a Saint, the said William goes further, and says it was so called *a granta flumine*. This place remained still a city of fame and repute a long time under the reign of the English Saxons, and is called in divers of the old manuscript Saxon annals "Grantecearten." And notwithstanding the great devastations it suffered with other places, by reason of the Danish incursions, yet in the first tome or volume of the book of 'Domes Dei' (for now I come to cite records) it appears to have been a place of considerable moment, having in it *decem custodias* and a castle of great strength and extent, and so I have done with Cambridge as a renowned place.

And now I come to speak to it, as it hath been a nursery of learning, nor will I begin higher with it than the time of the learned Saxon monarch King Alfred, because I suppose no man will question or gainsay but that there are sufficient testimonies of certain persons that did together in Cambridge study the arts and sciences much about that time. And it grew to be a place so famous for learning about the time of William I., the Norman, that he sent his younger son Henry thither to be there instructed, who himself being afterwards King of England, by the name of Henry I., was also surnamed Beauclerk, in respect of his great knowledge. If I should undertake to allege and vouch the records and other monuments of good authority, which assert and prove the increase and flourishing estate of this University in the succeeding ages, I should spend more time than our great and weighty occasions at this present will permit; it shall therefore suffice to have added, that the most ancient and first endowed college of England was Valence College in Cambridge, which after the foundation thereof, as appears by one of our Parliament Rolls remaining upon record in the Tower of London, received the new name or appellation of Pembroke Hall; it

is in Rota. Parliam. de Anno 38 H. 6 num. 31. It appearing therefore so evidently by all that I have said, that Cambridge is in all respects the elder sister (which I speak not to derogate from Oxford), my humble advice is, that we lay aside the present question, as well to avoid division amongst overselves as to intomb all further emulation between the two sisters, and that we suffer the present bill to pass as it is now penned; and the rather, because I think Oxford had the precedence in the last bill of this nature that passed this House.

ORVILLE DEWEY

(1794–1882)

ORVILLE DEWEY, one of the favorite platform and pulpit orators of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, was born at Sheffield, Massachusetts, 1794, and died there, March 21st, 1882. He had a style of admirable lucidity, and his addresses show that he joined habits of logical thinking to sound scholarship. He was by profession a clergyman, and his sermons, addresses, and works of a general character, keep their place in public libraries.

THE GENIUS OF DEMOSTHENES

THE favorite idea of a genius among us is of one who never studies, or who studies nobody can tell when, — at midnight, or at odd times and intervals, — and now and then strikes out, "at a heat," as the phrase is, some wonderful production. "The young man," it is often said, "has genius enough, if he would only study." Now, the truth is, that the genius will study; it is that in the mind which does study; that is the very nature of it. I care not to say that it will always use books. All study is not reading, any more than all reading is study.

Attention is the very soul of genius; not the fixed eye, not the poring over a book, but the fixed thought. It is, in fact, an action of the mind which is steadily concentrated upon one idea, or one series of ideas; which collects, in one point, the rays of the soul, till they search, penetrate, and fire the whole train of its thoughts. And while the fire burns within, the outside may be indeed cold, indifferent, negligent, absent in appearance; he may be an idler or a wanderer, apparently without aim or intent, but still the fire burns within. And what, though "it bursts forth" at length, as has been said, "like volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force"? It only shows the intense action of the elements beneath. What though it break forth like lightning from the cloud? The electric fire had been collecting in the firmament through many a silent, clear, and

calm day. What though the might of genius appear in one decisive blow, struck in some moment of high debate, or at the crisis of a nation's peril?

That mighty energy, though it may have heaved in the breast of Demosthenes, was once a feeble, infant thought. A mother's eye watched over its dawnings. A father's care guarded its early youth. It soon trod, with youthful steps, the halls of learning, and found other fathers to wake and to watch for it, even as it finds them here. It went on, but silence was upon its path, and the deep strugglings of the inward soul silently ministered to it. The elements around breathed upon it, and "touched it to finer issues." The golden ray of heaven fell upon it and ripened its expanding faculties. The slow revolutions of years slowly added to its collected energies and treasures, till, in its hour of glory, it stood forth embodied in the form of living, commanding, irresistible eloquence. The world wonders at the manifestation, and says: "Strange, strange that it should come thus unsought, unpremeditated, unprepared!" But the truth is, there is no more a miracle in it than there is in the towering of the pre-eminent forest tree, or in the flowing of the mighty and irresistible river, or in the wealth and waving of the boundless harvest.

THE RUST OF RICHES

Ah! the rust of riches!—not that portion of them which is kept bright in good and holy uses—"and the consuming fire" of the passions which wealth engenders! No rich man—I lay it down as an axiom of all experience—no rich man is safe who is not a benevolent man. No rich man is safe, but on the imitation of that benevolent God who is the possessor and dispenser of all the riches of the universe. What else mean the miseries of a selfish, luxurious, and fashionable life everywhere? What mean the sighs that come up from the purlieus and couches and most secret haunts of all splendid and self-indulgent opulence? Do not tell me that other men are sufferers too. Say not that the poor and destitute and forlorn are miserable also. Ah! just Heaven! thou hast in thy mysterious wisdom appointed to them a lot hard, full hard, to bear. Poor houseless wretches! who "eat the bitter bread of penury, and

drink the baleful cup of misery"; the winter's winds blow keenly through your "looped and windowed raggedness"; your children wander about unshod, unclothed, untended; I wonder not that ye sigh. But why should those who are surrounded with everything that heart can wish, or imagination conceive — the very crumbs that fall from whose table of prosperity might feed hundreds — why should they sigh amidst their profusion and splendor? They have broken the bond that should connect power with usefulness and opulence with mercy. That is the reason. They have taken up their treasures, and wandered away into a forbidden world of their own, far from the sympathies of suffering humanity; and the heavy night-dews are descending upon their splendid revels; and the all-gladdening light of heavenly beneficence is exchanged for the sickly glare of selfish enjoyment; and happiness, the blessed angel that hovers over generous deeds and heroic virtues, has fled away from that world of false gaiety and fashionable exclusion.

SAMUEL DEXTER

(1761–1816)

ON THE fourth of August, 1806, Thomas O. Selfridge, an attorney at law, shot and killed Charles Austin on the public Exchange in Boston. There had been a newspaper controversy between Selfridge and Austin's father, and when the case came to trial, the celebrated Samuel Dexter, who defended Selfridge, had to meet a charge that his client had "armed himself and sought a quarrel, after first calling the father of his victim opprobrious names in the newspapers." The defense was handled with great skill by an eloquent appeal to a "higher law" which, though some have questioned its morality, made it a model for defenses in similar cases in all parts of the Union. This appeal, made in the peroration of the speech delivered at the trial of the defendant in Boston, resulted in the defendant's acquittal.

Dexter was born in Boston, May 14th, 1761. As a young man he became distinguished for his rebellious attitude towards the English government. After the Revolution he was elected to Congress, serving in both House and Senate. He was Secretary of War under the administration of John Adams, and Secretary of the Treasury during a part of that of Jefferson. After leaving the Cabinet, he took up the practice of law in Boston and made even a greater reputation at the bar than he had already made in public life.

"THE HIGHER LAW" OF SELF-DEFENSE

(Peroration of the Speech in the Case of Selfridge)

I HAVE hitherto admitted that the publication in the newspaper was a fault in the defendant, nor am I disposed entirely to justify it; yet circumstances existed which went far to extenuate it. He had been defamed on a subject, the delicacy of which, perhaps, will not be understood by you, as you are not lawyers, without some explanation. Exciting persons to bring suits is an infamous offense, for which a lawyer is liable to indictment, and to be turned away from the bar. It is so fatal to the reputation of a lawyer, that it is wounding him in the

nicest point, to charge him with it. It is the point of honor; and charging him with barratry, or stirring up suits, is like calling a soldier a coward. Mr. Austin, the father, had accused the defendant publicly of this offense, respecting a transaction in which his conduct had been punctiliously correct. The defendant first applied to him in person, and with good temper, to retract the charge; afterwards, in conversations with Mr. Welsh, Mr. Austin acknowledged the accusation to be false, and promised to contradict it as publicly as he had made it. Yet he neglected to do it; again he said he had done it,—but the fact appeared to be otherwise. This induced the defendant to demand a denial of it in writing. Though Mr. Austin privately acknowledged he had injured Mr. Selfridge, yet he refused to make him an adequate recompense when he neglected to make the denial as public as the charge. This was a state of war between them upon this subject, in which the more the defendant annoyed his enemy, the less power he had to hurt him. It was, therefore, a species of self-defense; and Mr. Austin, who had first been guilty of defamation, perhaps had little cause to complain. To try the correctness of this, we will imagine an extreme case.

Suppose a man should have established his reputation as a common slanderer and calumniator by libeling the most virtuous and eminent characters of his country, from Washington and Adams down through the whole list of American patriots; suppose such a one to have stood for twenty years in the kennel, and thrown mud at every well-dressed passenger; suppose him to have published libels until his style of defamation had become as notorious as his face,—would not every one say that such conduct was some excuse for bespattering him in turn?

I do not apply this to any individual; but it is a strong case to try a principle. And if such conduct would amount almost to a justification of him who should retaliate, will not the slander of Mr. Austin against Mr. Selfridge furnish some excuse for him?

It has also been stated to you, gentlemen, and some books have been read to prove it, that a man cannot be justified or excused in killing another in his own defense, unless a felony were attempted or intended. Some confusion seems to have been produced by this, which I will attempt to dissipate. It has been settled that if a felony be attempted, the party injured may kill the offender, without retreating as far as he safely can; but that

if the offense intended be not a felony, he cannot excuse the killing in his own defense, unless he so retreat, provided circumstances will permit. On this principle, all the books that have been read on this point may easily be reconciled. But the position contended for by the opposing counsel is in direct contradiction to one authority which they themselves have read. In the fourth volume of Blackstone's 'Commentaries,' page 185, the law is laid down as follows: "The party assaulted must therefore flee as far as he conveniently can, either by reason of some wall, ditch, or other impediment, or as far as the fierceness of the assault will permit him: for it may be so fierce as not to allow him to yield a step, without manifest danger of his life, or enormous bodily harm; and then, in his defense, he may kill his assailant instantly. And this is the doctrine of universal justice, as well as of the municipal law."

Also in 1 Hawkin's Pleas of the Crown, chap. 29, § 13, the law on this point is stated thus: "And now I am to consider homicide *se defendendo*, which seems to be, where one, who has no other possible means of preserving his life from one who combats with him on a sudden quarrel, or of defending his person from one who attempts to beat him (especially if such attempt be made upon him in his own house), kills the person by whom he is reduced to such an inevitable necessity."

From these two highly respectable authorities, it appears that, though nothing more be attempted than to do great bodily injury, or even to beat a man, and there be no possibility of avoiding it but by killing the assailant, it is excusable so to do.

When the weight and strength of the cane, or rather cudgel, which the deceased selected is considered, and the violence with which it was used, can it be doubted that great bodily harm would have been the consequence, if Selfridge had not defended himself? The difference between this weapon and the pistol made use of by the defendant, perhaps, is greatly exaggerated by the imagination. The danger from the former might be nearly as great as from the latter. When a pistol is discharged at a man, in a moment of confusion and agitation, it is very uncertain whether it will take effect at all; and if it should, the chances are, perhaps, four to one, that the wound will not be mortal. Still further, when the pistol is once discharged, it is of little or no use; but with a cane, a man, within reach of his object, can hardly miss it; and if the first blow should prove inef-

fectual, he can repeat his strokes until he has destroyed his enemy.

If it were intended to excite contempt for the laws of the country, a more effectual method could hardly be taken than to tell a man, who has a soul within him, that if one attempt to rob him of a ten-dollar bill, this is a felony, and therefore esteemed by the law an injury of so aggravated a nature that he may lawfully kill the aggressor; but that if the same man should whip and kick him on the public Exchange, this is only a trespass, to which he is bound to submit rather than put in jeopardy the life of the assailant; and the laws will recompense him in damages.

Imagine that you read in a Washington newspaper that on a certain day, immediately on the rising of Congress, Mr. A, of Virginia, called Mr. B, of Massachusetts, a scoundrel for voting against his resolution, and proceeded deliberately to cut off his ears. Mr. B was armed with a good sword cane, but observed that his duty as a citizen forbade him to endanger the life of Mr. A, for, that cutting off a man's ear was by law no felony; and he had read in law books that courts of justice were the only proper *vindices injuriarum*, and that he doubted not that, by means of a lawsuit, he should obtain a reasonable compensation for his ears. What are the emotions excited in your breasts at this supposed indignity and exemplary patience of the representative of your country? Would you bow to him with profound respect on his return? or rather would not his dignity and usefulness, by universal consent, be lost forever?

We have now taken a view of the facts and the positive rules of law that apply to them; and it is submitted to you with great confidence that the defendant has brought himself within the strictest rules, and completely substantiated his defense by showing that he was under a terrible necessity of doing the act, and that by law he is excused. It must have occurred to you, however, in the course of this investigation, that our law has not been abundant in its provisions for protecting a man from gross insult and disgrace. Indeed, it was hardly to be expected that the sturdy hunters who laid the foundations of the common law would be very refined in their notions. There is, in truth, much intrinsic difficulty in legislating on this subject. Laws must be made to operate equally on all members of the community; and such is the difference in the situations and feelings of men that

no general rule on this subject can properly apply to all. That which is an irreparable injury to one man, and which he would feel himself bound to repel even by the instantaneous death of the aggressor, or by his own, would be a very trivial misfortune to another. There are men in every civilized community whose happiness and usefulness would be forever destroyed by a beating which another member of the same community would voluntarily receive for a five-dollar bill. Were the laws to authorize a man of elevated mind and refined feelings of honor to defend himself from indignity by the death of the aggressor, they must at the same time furnish an excuse to the meanest chimney sweeper in the country for punishing his sooty companion, who should fillip him on the cheek, by instantly thrusting his scraper into his belly. But it is too much to conclude from this difficulty in stating exceptions to the general rule, that extreme cases do not furnish them. It is vain, and worse than vain, to prescribe laws to a community which will require a dereliction of all dignity of character, and subject the most elevated to outrages from the most vile. If such laws did exist, the best that could be hoped would be that they would be broken. Extreme cases are, in their nature, exceptions to all rules; and when a good citizen says that, the law not having specified them, he must have a right to use his own best discretion on the subject, he only treats the law of his country in the same manner in which every Christian necessarily treats the precepts of his religion. The law of his Master is, "Resist not evil"; "If a man smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also." No exceptions to these rules are stated; yet does not every rational Christian necessarily make them? I have been led to make these observations, not because I think them necessary in the defense of Mr. Selfridge, but because I will have no voluntary agency in degrading the spirit of my country. The greatest of all public calamities would be a pusillanimous spirit that would tamely surrender personal dignity to every invader. The opposing council have read to you from books of acknowledged authority that the right of self-defense was not given by the law of civil society, and that that law cannot take it away. It is founded, then, on the law of nature, which is of higher authority than any human institution. This law enjoins us to be useful in proportion to our capacities; to protect the powers of being useful, by all means that nature has given us, and to secure our own happiness, as well as that of

others. These sacred precepts cannot be obeyed without securing to ourselves the respect of others. Surely, I need not say to you that the man who is daily beaten on the public Exchange cannot retain his standing in society by recurring to the laws. Recovering daily damages will rather aggravate the contempt that the community will heap upon him; nor need I say that when a man has patiently suffered one beating he has almost insured a repetition of the insult.

It is a most serious calamity for a man of high qualifications for usefulness, and delicate sense of honor, to be driven to such a crisis, yet should it become inevitable, he is bound to meet it like a man, to summon all the energies of the soul, rise above ordinary maxims, poise himself on his own magnanimity, and hold himself responsible only to his God. Whatever may be the consequences, he is bound to bear them; to stand like Mount Atlas,

> "When storms and tempests thunder on its brow,
> And oceans break their billows at his feet."

Do not believe that I am inculcating opinions tending to disturb the peace of society. On the contrary, they are the only principles that can preserve it. It is more dangerous for the laws to give security to a man disposed to commit outrages on the persons of his fellow-citizens than to authorize those who must otherwise meet irreparable injury to defend themselves at every hazard. Men of eminent talents and virtues, on whose exertions in perilous times the honor and happiness of their country must depend, will always be liable to be degraded by every daring miscreant, if they cannot defend themselves from personal insult and outrage. Men of this description must always feel that to submit to degradation and dishonor is impossible. Nor is this feeling confined to men of that eminent grade. We have thousands in our country who possess this spirit; and without them we should soon deservedly cease to exist as an independent nation. I respect the laws of my country and revere the precepts of our holy religion; I should shudder at shedding human blood; I would practice moderation and forbearance to avoid so terrible a calamity; yet should I ever be driven to that impassable point where degradation and disgrace begin, may this arm shrink palsied from its socket if I fail to defend my own honor.

It has been intimated that the principles of Christianity con-

demn the defendant. If he is to be tried by this law, he certainly has a right to avail himself of one of its fundamental principles. I call on you, then, to do to him, as in similar circumstances you would expect others to do to you; change situations for a moment and ask yourselves what you would have done if attacked as he was. And instead of being necessitated to act at the moment, and without reflection, take time to deliberate. Permit me to state for you your train of thought. You would say: This man who attacks me appears young, athletic, active, and violent. I am feeble and incapable of resisting him; he has a heavy cane, which is undoubtedly a strong one, as he had leisure to select it for the purpose; he may intend to kill me; he may, from the violence of his passion, destroy me without intending it; he may maim or greatly injure me; by beating me he must disgrace me. This alone destroys all my prospects, all my happiness, and all my usefulness. Where shall I fly when thus rendered contemptible? Shall I go abroad? Every one will point at me the finger of scorn. Shall I go home? My children —I have taught them to shrink from dishonor; will they call me father? What is life to me after suffering this outrage? Why should I endure this accumulated wretchedness, which is worse than death, rather than put in hazard the life of my enemy?

Ask yourselves whether you would not make use of any weapon that might be within your power to repel the injury; and if it should happen to be a pistol, might you not, with sincere feeling of piety, call on the Father of Mercies to direct the stroke?

While we reverence the precepts of Christianity, let us not make them void by impracticable construction. They cannot be set in opposition to the law of our nature; they are a second edition of that law; they both proceed from the same Author.

Gentlemen, all that is dear to the defendant in his future life is by the law of his country placed in your power. He cheerfully leaves it there. Hitherto he has suffered all that his duty as a good citizen required with fortitude and patience; and if more be yet in store for him, he will exhibit to his accusers an example of patient submission to the laws. Yet permit me to say in concluding his defense that he feels full confidence that your verdict will terminate his sufferings.*

*The jury returned a verdict of «Not Guilty.»

PORFIRIO DIAZ

(1830–)

AT THE Monterey banquet of 1898, President Diaz of Mexico outlined the policy he has pursued in developing the resources of his country — a policy modeled on that of Jefferson and involving as fundamental principles the utmost possible hospitality to immigration. Though he does not speak habitually in public, President Diaz has a style of the greatest ease and flexibility, illustrating in every sentence the suavity of intellect which has enabled him to establish a stable government in Mexico where so many others who were mere soldiers had failed. Perhaps no other living Latin-American has more of the faculty of pleasing than President Diaz shows in complimenting Monterey for its achievements of peaceful progress.

He was born at Oaxaca, September 15th, 1830. He received a liberal education, but his enlistment when the United States invaded Mexico in 1847 made him a soldier rather than the lawyer he might have been. He served against Santa Anna in 1854; against Marquez in 1861 ; and against Maximilian and the French from 1863 to 1867. In 1876 he drove out Lerdo, and the following year he became President of Mexico, an office which he has held or controlled ever since. The Constitution has been changed to allow him to succeed himself, and if Mexico prosper under him in the future as it has done in the past, he is likely to remain its President until he dies or refuses to serve.

MEXICAN PROGRESS

(Delivered at the Banquet Given in His Honor at Monterey, December 21st, 1898)

Mr. Governor and Gentlemen: —

IN THE eloquent toast that we have just heard, there are thoughts expressed so beautifully and with so pronounced a spirit of friendship, that I can only accept them as a sign of the fully reciprocated regard with which the author honors me. However little I may deserve them, they nevertheless demand acknowledgment.

Hence, in replying, I must begin by thanking you most cordially. In the name of my fellow-guests, and in my own, I also thank this attractive and beautiful city for the splendid welcome with which it has honored us.

The impression made on us by its munificence is so pleasant and so great that we do not know what to admire most and what to be most thankful for,—whether for the charming hospitality, elegance, and good taste shown in receiving us, or for the striking exhibition of improvements we already knew by hearsay and that now they are so kind as to show us in review.

If the hospitality and attentions extended to us make us happy during the days we spend with our amiable hosts of Nuevo Leon, the exhibition of their improvements gives us good reason for knowing, appreciating, and admiring with proper national pride the abundant, varied, and worthy results of the spirit of enterprise animating capital and industry, when governed by a scrupulous honesty, supported by the good name which this invaluable virtue perpetuates by its presence, and firmly protected by a government which, with firm hand and clear and just conscience, guarantees the life, the property, the liberty, the honor, and all natural and civil rights of the man and of the citizen.

Sixteen years, more or less, of intelligent work under direction of the great principles of prosperity we have just enumerated, have been sufficient to awaken and put into productive action the industrial intelligence and noble ambition of the citizens of Nuevo Leon, while the well-deserved fame of the satisfactory results achieved has attracted, and is still attracting, from all quarters, the capital, the industry, the energy, and all other faculties belonging to that genius which, when stimulated amongst themselves and competing in worthy initiative and noble strength, has extended, improved, and beautified every day this great and typical display of the industrial progress of Nuevo Leon, which, with well-founded and noble pride its beautiful capital offers us.

It is certain that this magnificent picture is the objective demonstration and measure of the present prosperity and advanced civilization of this intelligent and industrious people. But this is not all; for after this, there is something which claims all our attention,—so much the more imperiously, since this something tends to prepare a future still more prosperous. Nevertheless, I am not surprised at this, for it is only natural that a

people which has created men like Zaragoza and produced them like Zuazua and Escobedo, Treviño, Naraujo, and so many nameless heroes, should accomplish its high destiny as soon as it was allowed to apply in peace the energy that moved it in war.

And thus we see that as soon as this invaluable advantage of peace has been established and government representation normalized in the State, government, fulfilling one of its first and most necessary duties, becomes an educator, wishing that the large and desirable population attracted to Monterey on account of the industries of the city should not make merely a short stay in this favored land, but that willingly they should decide to leave their bones among us in return for the generosity their activity, their work, and their talent has prompted. So the city provides intelligently and generously for instruction to their children in primary, secondary, and high schools, so that without the inconvenience that their absence in quest of instruction would cause to their families, and especially to the mothers, children may be educated here at home. Thus, here at home, they may get practical knowledge and become wise, if they wish it, at the side of their parents, with the generation to which they belong, a part of the society in which they live, if they decide to adopt altogether this hospitable home, which is willing to receive them with all the motherly love she bears to her own sons, recognizing their merits, without distinction between her own and her adopted children.

Finally, gentlemen, now that I have the great satisfaction of seeing around me the most prominent business men of this nation, as well as those of foreign countries, and government officers who, uniting their manly and intelligent action, have elevated Monterey to the height of which she is rightly proud — now that I have the pleasure of breaking bread with them at the same table and toasting with them their well-deserved prosperity, I am pleased to be able to say to them in accordance with a conscience which has never deceived me: «You who toil for the progress of Nuevo Leon, natives and foreigners — you are worthy of this Republic whose national wealth and habits of industry you have cultivated and increased with your own well-earned private wealth!»

As for the governor, who inspires, encourages, and represents the administrative staff, I shall remind him that eighteen years ago, in promoting him from colonel to brigadier-general in

reward of a very distinguished service, I said to him: "This is the way the weapons with which the country honors us ought to be used. This is the way a dutiful and honorable soldier fulfills his promise to defend his flag." And now, after eighteen years, and after having studied carefully the great advantages that under his intelligent and firm government this brave and intelligent State has attained, I consider it just to say to you, condensing all the praises with which his deeds have inspired me: "General Reyes, this is the way to govern; this is the way to respond to the sovereign will of the people."

Gentlemen, I drink to the increasing prosperity of Nuevo Leon and to the well-deserved honor it bestows on its authors.

MAHLON DICKERSON

(1769–1853)

MATTHEW LYON, the Member of Congress whose vote made Thomas Jefferson President, had been prosecuted under the Sedition Law passed during the administration of John Adams. After his retirement from Congress he presented a petition, setting forth that the law under which he had been fined was unconstitutional, and asking to have the money returned to him. This put Congress in the position of reviewing the action of the federal courts. The case was a very celebrated one, as it involved not only this principle, but a leading point in the "practical politics" of the great political revolution of 1800. The claim remained before Congress until 1840, when the sum of $1,060.90, with interest from 1799, was ordered paid as compensation for the enforcement of an unconstitutional act. When the case was before the Senate in 1821, Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, urged the claims of Lyon very strongly. Senator Dickerson, who was born in New Jersey in 1769, was long one of its leading public men. He was judge of its Supreme Court and governor before his election to the United States Senate (1817). He was Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinets of Jackson and Van Buren. He died in Morris County, New Jersey, October 5th, 1853.

THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS OF THE ADAMS ADMINISTRATION

(From the Speech in the Case of Matthew Lyon, United States Senate, January 19th, 1821)

I HAVE never doubted that the Sedition Act, so far as it respects the printing and publishing of libels, was a direct, open, and unequivocal breach of the Constitution. And, although I do not hold the United States responsible for all the losses sustained under that act, I would not willingly retain in our Treasury a single dollar of the money iniquitously acquired under it. The whole forms but a small sum, but if it were large, it should be returned to those from whom it was taken. I should not stop to inquire whether it were a thousand or a hundred thousand dollars.

To ascertain how far this act was an abridgment of the liberty of the press, let us examine a little further into its practical operation. It is unnecessary to add anything to what has already been said upon the trial of Matthew Lyon. The trial of Thomas Cooper in 1800, in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the Pennsylvania District, will furnish a complete illustration of the views of those who made and of those who administered this law.

I select this case because I was a witness of the whole trial; a trial which, at the time, filled my mind with horror and indignation. I saw a man whom it was my pride then, as it is now, to call my friend; a man of the most honorable feelings; a man whose name is identified with science and literature; the constant study of whose life it has been to render himself useful to his fellow-beings; I saw this man dragged before a criminal court, arraigned, tried, and punished, for publishing words which nothing but the violence and blindness of party rage could have construed into crime. In the year '97 Mr. Cooper had asked of the President, Mr. Adams, to be appointed an agent for American claims; the request was made through Doctor Priestly directly to Mr. Adams, with a frankness warranted on the part of the Doctor by the intimacy which had long existed between them. As the application was thus personal, it was supposed to be confidential. It was unsuccessful, and there it should have rested. But, by some means never explained, two years afterwards this application was made public, and afforded the editor of a paper in Reading an opportunity of inserting a scurrilous paragraph against Mr. Cooper. Irritated at being thus held up as a subject of ridicule, Mr. Cooper, in justification of his own conduct, published the address for which he was indicted. The words contained in the indictment, stripped of the innuendoes, are the following:—

"Nor do I see any impropriety in making this request of Mr. Adams; at that time he had just entered into office; he was hardly in the infancy of political mistake; even those who doubted of his capacity, thought well of his intentions. Nor were we yet saddled with the expense of a permanent navy, or threatened, under his auspices, with the existence of a standing army. Our credit was not yet reduced quite so low as to borrow money at eight per cent. in time of peace, while the unnecessary violence of official expressions might justly have provoked a war. Mr. Adams had not yet projected his

embassies to Prussia, Russia, and the Sublime Porte, nor had he yet interfered, as President of the United States, to influence the decisions of a court of justice,—a stretch of authority which the monarch of Great Britain would have shrunk from; an interference without precedent, against law, and against mercy! The melancholy case of Jonathan Robbins, a native citizen of America, forcibly impressed by the British, and delivered up, with the advice of Mr. Adams, to the mock trial of a British court-martial, had not yet astonished the Republican citizens of this free country; a case too little known, but which the people ought to be fully apprised of before the election, and they shall be.»

I have the highest veneration for the exalted statesman and revolutionary patriot against whom this censure was leveled; but he was not infallible—much less so were those around him, by whose advice, at this particular period, he was too much influenced. But, however exalted his station, he had accepted it with a full knowledge that it was the disposition and practice, and a salutary one, too, in this country, to examine and censure, with great freedom, the conduct of those in power. To be censured freely, and sometimes unjustly, is a tax which every one must pay who holds the highest station in our Government. Laws which should completely prevent this would as completely prostrate the liberties of the people.

However much Mr. Adams might have been hurt at the asperity of the language applied to him, I am confident he never intimated a wish in favor of a prosecution. Most probably this took place in consequence of the advice of those who advised that Robbins should be given up. About this time Mr. Adams thought proper to repress the zeal of his political friends by pardoning Fries, who had been guilty of a misdemeanor, but was convicted of treason, and by other acts evincing a disposition to pursue a more moderate system than that which had prevailed for two preceding years. It will also be remembered that not long after this period he dismissed some of his advisers, in whom he had probably placed too much confidence.

At the present time of good feelings it seems incredible that what Mr. Cooper said of the expenses of a permanent navy,—of the standing army,—the eight per cent. loan, and the projected embassies to Prussia, Russia, and the Sublime Porte, should have been considered as the subject of indictment. What was said as to the case of Jonathan Robbins, otherwise called Thomas Nash,

was of a more serious character, and should have been answered, if it could have been answered, by a true history of that transaction — not by punishing Mr. Cooper; for, if this interference on the part of the President were without precedent against law and against mercy, fining and imprisoning Mr. Cooper could not make it otherwise.

The friends of the Sedition Act say that Congress were authorized to pass it as a law necessary and proper for carrying into effect the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government, under the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution.

This part of the Constitution is very elastic, and some gentleman discovered that under it Congress may do what they please, by simply making the word "necessary" mean "convenient." But I cannot imagine what power vested by the Constitution in the Government it was necessary to carry into effect by the Sedition Act. That no such necessity as is alleged did exist is evident from this circumstance, that the Government went on very well before that act passed, and quite as well since it has expired. However convenient, therefore, the law might have been, it certainly was not necessary. If it were necessary in the meaning of the Constitution, it was indispensably necessary — not partly necessary. If necessary then it must be necessary now, and Congress must, of course, be neglecting their duty in not reviving that law.

We are now in effect to declare this act to have been constitutional or unconstitutional. If we do the latter we correct not the errors of the court but of Congress. If the law was not constitutional when passed, the decisions of the court could not make it so. Probably the court did not think that a question for them to decide. The act was a legislative construction of the Constitution expressly. It was opposed and supported on constitutional grounds, and is a declaration of the three branches of the legislature of the meaning of the Constitution in this particular. And it is not yet ascertained that, in construing the Constitution, Congress is subordinate to the judiciary. Probably the first decisive experiment upon this subject will prove the contrary.

I do not think it necessary to search for precedents to justify us in the measure now proposed. If we have no precedent let us make one that may be a memento to dominant parties not to abuse their power. But if precedents were necessary we may

find enough in the history of England, not in that of our own country; for, fortunately for us, our history affords but a few instances of the abuse of power. For such precedents we need not go back to the heavy time of York and Lancaster, when the triumphant party constantly reversed all that had been done by the party subdued. We may look into a later period when the Stuarts and their immediate successors were upon the throne, when the principles of liberty were much better understood than practiced.

The attainder of the Earl of Stafford, who had been treacherously given up by a cowardly king to the indignation of Parliament, was reversed.

The attainders against Algernon Sidney and against Lord Russell were reversed.

The attainder against Alderman Cornish was reversed, as also that against Lady Lisle and many others. In these cases it is true the Parliament only reversed their own proceedings. But they sometimes reversed the proceedings of other courts, as in the case of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, who were tried in the court of Star Chamber for libels, and sentenced to lose their ears, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds each and to be imprisoned for life. This is a very strong case, and in point; for the Parliament not only reversed the sentence, but remitted the fine, and ordered satisfaction for damages to the parties injured.

I must ask the indulgence of the Senate while I read a few passages from the proceedings in this extraordinary case. I shall read them for the edification of those who are, who have been, or who hereafter may be, in favor of a Sedition Act.

Dr. Bastwick, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne had written some religious books, in which were contained some reflections on the Bishops, which were deemed libelous. Mr. Prynne, three years before this time, had written a book in which he censured stage plays, music, and dancing, for which he was punished by the loss of his ears. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the fourteenth of June [1637], the lords being set in their places, in the said court of Star Chamber, and casting their eyes at the prisoners, then at the bar, Sir John Finch, Chief-Justice of the Commons Pleas, began to speak after this manner:—

I had thought Mr. Prynne had no ears, but methinks he hath ears; which caused many of the lords to take a stricter view of him;

and, for their better satisfaction, the usher of the court was commanded to turn up his hair and show his ears; upon the sight whereof, the lords were displeased that they had been formerly no more cut off, and cast out some disgraceful words of him.

To which Mr. Prynne replied, "My lords, there is never a one of your honors but would be sorry to have your ears as mine are."

The lord keeper replied again, "In good faith, he is somewhat saucy."

"I hope," said Mr. Prynne, "your honors will not be offended; I pray God to give you ears to hear."

"The business of the day," said the lord keeper, "is to proceed on the prisoner at the bar."

Mr. Prynne then humbly desired the court to give him leave to make a motion or two; which being granted, he moves:—

First, that their honors would be pleased to accept of a cross-bill against the prelates, signed with their own hands, being that which stands with the justice of the court, which he humbly craved, and so tendered it.

Lord Keeper—As for your cross-bill, it is not the business of the day; hereafter if the court should see just cause, and that it savor not of libeling, we may accept of it; for my part I have not seen it, but have heard somewhat of it.

Mr. Prynne—I hope your honors will not refuse it, being, as it is, on his Majesty's behalf. We are his Majesty's subjects, and therefore require the justice of the court.

Lord Keeper—But this is not the business of the day.

Mr. Prynne—Why then, my lords, I have a second motion, which I humbly pray your honors to grant, which is, that your lordships will please to dismiss the prelates, here now sitting, from having any voice in the censure of this cause, being generally known to be adversaries, as being no way agreeable with equity or reason, that they who are our adversaries should be our judges; therefore I humbly crave they may be expunged out of the court.

Lord Keeper—In good faith it is a sweet motion; is it not? Herein you are become libelous; and if you should thus libel all the lords and reverend judges as you do the reverend prelates, by this your plea, you would have none to pass sentence upon you for your libeling, because they are parties.

The whole trial is very interesting. I proceed to the sentence.

Thus, the prisoners, desiring to speak a little more for themselves, were commanded to silence. And so the lords proceed to censure.

The Lord Cettington's censure: "I condemn these three men to lose their ears in the palace yard at Westminster, to be fined five thousand pounds a man to his Majesty, and to perpetual imprisonment in three remote places in the kingdom, namely, the castles of Caernarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster."

The Lord Finch added to this censure:—

"Mr. Prynne to be stigmatized in the cheeks with two letters, S and L, for seditious libeler." To which all the lords agreed.

I omit what is said of the punishment of Dr. Bastwick and Mr. Burton, which was inflicted with great cruelty, but that of Mr. Prynne deserves a particular notice:—

Now, the executioner being come to sear him and cut off his ears, Mr. Prynne said these words to him: "Come, friend, come burn me, cut me; I fear not; I have learned to fear the fire of hell, and not what man can do unto me. Come, sear me, sear me; I shall bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus"; which the bloody executioner performed with extraordinary cruelty, heating his iron twice to burn one cheek, and cut one of his ears so close that he cut off a piece of his cheek. At which exquisite torture he never moved with his body, or as much as changed his countenance, but still looked up as well as he could towards Heaven, with a smiling countenance, even to the astonishment of all the beholders, and uttering, as soon as the executioner had done, this heavenly sentence: "The more I am beaten down, the more I am lift up."

What protection was afforded to these wretched men by the common law, the law in which they lived and moved and had their being?

The honorable gentleman from Georgia admonishes us not to destroy the independence of the judiciary, the bulwark of the liberties of the people. We shall not, in the measure now proposed, in the slightest degree interfere with the independence of the judiciary. It must be a matter of indifference to them what we do with the Sedition Act; it cannot affect their emoluments. I have understood that the independency of the judiciary was regulated by the greater or less permanency in the tenure of their office, and the greater or less certainty in the payment of their fixed salaries.

But I must beg leave to differ from the honorable gentleman when he informs us that our independent judiciary is the bulwark of the liberties of the people. By which he must mean,

defenders of the people against the oppressions of the Government. From what I witnessed in the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, I never shall, I never can, consider our judiciary as the bulwark of the liberties of the people. The people must look out for other bulwarks for their liberties. I have the most profound respect for the learning, talents, and integrity of the honorable judges who fill our Federal bench. But, if those who carried into effect the Sedition Act are to be called the people's defenders, it must be for nearly the same reason that the Fates were called *Parcæ — quia non parcebant.*

DANIEL S. DICKINSON

(1800–1866)

DANIEL S. DICKINSON represented New York in the United States Senate from 1844 to 1851, and during the great debates over the slavery question he made a number of speeches against Sectionalism, which gave him a national reputation and great popularity as an orator. Extracts from his orations in favor of the Union were published in the school speakers and often declaimed by the young orators of his generation. He was born in Connecticut, September 11th, 1800, but his family removed to New York when he was only six years old, and as a result of his own efforts in educating himself and pushing himself at the bar, he rose to eminence both as a lawyer and a public man. He retired from politics after leaving the Senate. In 1861, however, he made a number of speeches in favor of maintaining the Union at any cost, and in 1864 he was a delegate to the Baltimore convention.

REBUKING SENATOR CLEMENS OF ALABAMA

(From a Speech in the United States Senate, January 12th, 1850)

I AM for maintaining the Union in spirit as well as in form; and I have deprecated the assaults which I have seen made upon the Constitution occasionally in the nonslaveholding States, in the refusal to deliver fugitives from service according to a solemn provision of that instrument. But this, sir, I look upon as a matter which must be reformed at home, as it will be by a sound and healthy public opinion, when it shall set a just estimate upon the interference of political agitators, and condemn a morality that is purer than the fundamental law. But I will not even dwell upon the alleged errors of any section of my country. If she has ever been astray, rather than contemplate it, I would, like the son of the erring patriarch, walk backward and cast the mantle of concealment over it. I desire to preserve in all its vigor the glorious inheritance which our fathers gave us; to see the South secure in the full possession and enjoyment

of their constitutional rights. I have stood by them when I thought them right, regardless of peril, and will now aid in shielding them from unjust and improper aggressions upon their institutions. In this struggle numerically they are the weaker party, and when I have seen them unjustly assaulted and assailed, my sympathies have been with them, and I have exposed and denounced not only the sectional agitators, but have warned those against excitement whose views and intentions are just, but who have been provoked to retaliation by just such wholesale sectional assaults as are now heaped upon the North by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Clemens]. Sir, crimination begets recrimination; and although men may put on the garb of philosophy for an occasion, they are yet liable to be betrayed by impulse and excitement; and when they hear distinguished Southern men day after day making sectional appeals, grouping all together and condemning all in gross, without stint or exception, they in their turn will make other declarations, and thus the work goes on. One sectional agitator begets another — a blow given brings a blow in return, and thus sectional agitation makes the meat it feeds on. I have already said I regretted that this subject has been introduced. Allow me to say that I do not regret that it is about to reach its culminating point. I care not how soon this may be the case. I believe that the great mass of the people of the South are honest, just, and generous, and that all they desire is to remain secure in the possession of their rights. I believe, too, sir, that the great mass of the people of the North are equally just and equally generous, and true to the Constitution, and that they too desire nothing more than what they deem to be their rights, and the rights of the whole people, and best calculated to advance the honor of the Confederacy and the interest and happiness of mankind. When reviled, I will not revile again. I will by no means repudiate the Southern Democracy. They have too often proved themselves worthy of the name they bear. Nor, sir, upon the question of this Union, much and radically as I differ with them upon other questions, will I repudiate the patriotic among our opponents. This question shoots too deep and stretches too high to be measured by political parties; and when the day of trial comes, if come it does, every patriotic man will breast himself for the shock, and sectional agitators will be foiled. The Constitution throws its broad ægis over this

mighty Republic, and its people worship at its shrine with more than an Eastern devotion. They have contemplated the priceless value of the Union. They have thought of the blood and tears by which it was purchased. They see the proud vessel bearing majestically onward, and they exclaim in the language of the poet:—

> "Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
> Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!
> Humanity with all its fears,
> With all the hope of future years,
> Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
> We know what master laid thy keel,
> What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
> Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
> What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
> In what a forge and what a heat
> Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!"

They will cheer on this noble ship; they will stand by this Constitution; they will adhere to this Union; and although the Northern people are opposed to the institution of slavery, the great mass of them have no intention or disposition to trench improperly upon the constitutional rights of the South; and this they will prove, should the occasion arise, even though they should sell their lives in her defense. Sir, if it should come to the worst, as it never will, so firmly are the Northern people devoted to the Constitution, that if armed incendiarism, foreign or domestic, should push her mad crusade against the South, and she be placed in peril, I am free to declare, I would, and so I believe would every patriotic man of the free States who had a sword to draw, draw it in defense of their Southern brethren and of the rights guaranteed to them by a common compact, and stand by them to the death. But, sir, they will only stand by her when she is right; and so long as she is so, no sword will be called into requisition, except against a foreign and a common foe. The very heat, natural and artificial, to which sectional agitation has attained, will work its own cure. It will burn itself out. Northern agitators and Southern agitators will find themselves side by side in their errand of mutual mischief, and the great mass of the American people will look upon this

Union as it is, and upon Southern rights and Northern rights as they are, and will stand by them and protect them.

These territorial questions, this District of Columbia question, the question of jurisdiction in forts and dock yards, arsenals and navy yards, and so forth, are mostly questions temporary in their character, and, together with the question of fugitives from service, would be soon settled by the good sense of the right-minded, were it not for the wholesale denunciations of men grouped together in whole communities and States, on one hand denouncing the North, the North, the North, and on the other hand the South, the South, the South. This provokes the greater part of this struggle; and I would suggest whether it would not be more wise if gentlemen would exercise a little forbearance, always remembering the saying, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." I am willing to admit that the great mass of our Southern friends treat this question as it should be treated; and I am pleased to see them stand up boldly as they do for their right of being let alone. I am gratified to hear them, in a proper spirit, stand by their institutions and defend them, for it serves to show, what some seem practically to forget, that this Confederacy is a sisterhood of free and independent States associated for a few common purposes, and not a consolidated Federal Government. The North and the South stand together upon one great constitutional platform, and neither has a right to claim superiority over the other. The people of the South have institutions that are sensitive and that can be endangered by agitation in the North, and in opposing such agitation I have been willing to throw myself into the breach to turn it aside. I have attempted to call the attention of the Northern people — nay, of the whole American people — to the danger of agitating this question, and I would say in all kindness to my friend from Alabama that he gives more food in one speech for the nourishment of the Abolition movement than all the Garrisons, Wendell Phillipses, and Abby Folsoms, and all the speeches of all the "Free Soil" agitators and abolition demagogues put together. He does more to provoke assaults upon the institutions of the South than all that Abolitionism has ever been able to accomplish in the hour of its most fiendish triumphs. I beg of that honorable Senator when he has anything to say hereafter — unless he is impelled by a strong sense of duty — that he will not attempt to foment and carry on this sectional agitation. To what end and

to whose good will result the dissolution of this Union, from the contemplation of which every patriotic mind instinctively recoils with horror?

I sing no hosannas to a Union without a constitution. I admit that when the life and spirit have departed, the framework will be valueless and will tumble to decay. But the spirit has not yet departed — the life is not yet gone. It is true it has received many assaults, but it is capable of receiving and sustaining many more. Let those who are disposed to indulge in agitation ask for the rights guaranteed by the Constitution only; but when they ask for these let them not ask for what the Constitution does not guarantee. Let them not provoke assaults themselves, while decrying the assaults they invite.

The honorable Senator from Alabama repudiates and casts off the Northern Democracy. They will, however, do no such thing with him. They will retain him in full membership, but endeavor to teach him some instructive and useful lessons. And upon this subject of reading out the entire Democracy of fifteen States of this Union, they will request my young friend from Alabama to tarry a while at Jericho until his beard shall have grown. [Laughter.]

JOHN DICKINSON

(1732–1808)

JOHN DICKINSON, of Pennsylvania, was the author of the 'Declaration on Taking Up Arms,' read in the Continental Congress in June 1775, and adopted July 6th of the same year. A year later he opposed the Declaration of Independence as premature, but he vindicated his patriotism by enlisting as a private soldier and marching against the British forces in New Jersey. He was a member of the Colonial Congress of 1765; of the Continental Congress of 1774; and from 1782 to 1785 he was President of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, elected as a delegate from Delaware. Born in Maryland, November 13th, 1732, he died in Delaware, February 14th, 1808.

THE DECLARATION ON TAKING UP ARMS

(Read Before Congress on the Sixth of July, 1775)

IF IT were possible for men who exercise their reason to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting

those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood; at the hazard of their fortunes; without the least charge to the country from which they removed; by unceasing labor and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the Crown, and a harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm arose from this source; and the minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British Empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake its deepest foundations. The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behavior from the beginning of colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war,

though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner by his Majesty, by the late King and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and, assuming a new power over them, has, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another, and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter and secured by acts of its own legislature, solemnly confirmed by the Crown; for exempting the "murderers" of colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighboring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence, and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament that colonists charged with committing certain offenses shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared that Parliament can, "of right, make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language.

The Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused,

it is true, but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congress of delegates from the united colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow-subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as the last peaceable admonition that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy, but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both houses, among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address, in the month of February, said that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts Bay, and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies; and, therefore, they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature." Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries and with each other was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence, and large re-enforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns, in our favor. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to estab-

lish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who, in the course of the last year, had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the nineteenth day of April sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province at the town of Lexington, and as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded, in warlike array, to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until, compelled to retreat by the country people, suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them, without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the general, their governor, and having, in order to procure their dismission, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers, detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their

relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them, and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The general, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the twelfth day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial." His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted; and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province, and the Indians, to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery! Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of Divine favor towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified by these animating reflections, we

most solemnly, before God and the world, declare that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator has graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties,— being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offense. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defense of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

PÈRE DIDON

(1840–)

HENRI DIDON, one of the most celebrated thinkers and orators of contemporary France, stands distinctively for the axiom that between the different phases of truth there can be no real conflict. His lifework has been to align the Catholic Church in France with the modern spirit of experimentalism in science and of criticism in the investigation of religious records. He was born at Touvet, March 17th, 1840, and in 1862 identified himself with the Dominican order. He has described himself as "a spiritual son of Lacordaire." Holding that there is nothing in the creed of the Church opposed to true science, he has also attempted to demonstrate that the Democratic movement of modern times is the delayed fruit of Christian teachings. In 1879, he took grounds on the question of divorce, which his superiors condemned, and was temporarily "silenced," but after his return from Corsica, to which he was retired, he was restored to favor, and in 1890 became director of the college of Albert the Great at Arcueil.

CHRIST AND HIGHER CRITICISM

JESUS CHRIST is the greatest name of history. There are others for which men have died. His is the only one worshiped among all peoples of all races in all ages.

He who bears it is known of all the earth. Among savages of the most degenerate tribes of the human species, missionaries go incessantly to announce his death on the Cross and the sacrifice made for the human race which is saved by loving him. The most indifferent in the modern world have been obliged to admit that nothing has ever helped the weak and the suffering more than Christianity.

The most glorious geniuses of the past will be obscured. Whether in monuments, palaces, obelisks, or tombs; whether in written encomiums, papyrus or parchment, bricks or medallions,—only reminiscences of them have been preserved for us. Jesus will live forever in the conscience of his faithful people. Here

in this great manifestation of his power is his indestructible monument.

The Church founded by him fills with his name all time and all places. The Church knows him, loves him, adores him! As he lives in her, so she lives in him. . . . In a few simple words the Church teaches that the greatest event which ever occurred to humanity was the arrival of Christ, and that God loves man, since God saves him from the penalty of the law; that God would save him from harm by giving him aid; that charity is the supreme duty, since by his charity and goodness the Savior was brought to the Cross; that the Christian must be vigilant in the good because his Master will be the judge; that he need not fear death because his Master conquered it and because he himself is destined to eternal life.

The man who accepts these instructions and believes in Christ can walk uprightly in life. He is armed for defense and for growth. Nothing can arrest his progress. The disciple of Jesus Christ has become the conqueror of the world—not from the standpoint of materialism and brutality, for violence is not in the spirit of the crucified Master, but in the sense of goodness, of abnegation, of sacrifice, and of moral dignity. In sowing these virtues as seeds of life, he prepares and enriches the human soil until it is capable of all culture and of all harvests.

But since believers in their intelligence seek to find reasons for elementary dogmas, it is necessary that we explain to them, in the measure of our imperfect and always limited knowledge, the facts and details of the human and divine life of Jesus, the words he spoke, the laws he formulated, his manner of teaching, evangelizing, combating, suffering, and dying. The history of Jesus is the foundation of faith. Evangelical doctrine, moral Christianity, culture, hierarchy, Church dignities, all rest on him. Thanks to the work of educated teachers, the doctrine of Jesus, his moralities, his faith, and his Church, have become little by little the object of distinct science, perfected, organized, responding to the legitimate aspirations of believers who would be men of faith and men of science; equally, the life of Jesus Christ must in its detail meet the exigencies of history.

The partisans of those called the critical school will say: The Christ of dogma and of tradition, the Christ of the Apostles and the evangelists, interpreted according to the doctrines of the Church, is not and cannot be the Christ of history. This ideal

Christ, God in man, Spirit Incarnate, conceived by an unknown miracle, calling himself the only Son of God, in the absolute and metaphysical sense, multiplying miracles, speaking as the fourth Evangelist makes him speak, rising again three days after death, ascending to the heavens in the face of his Disciples, after forty days,—such a man is not real! He exists only in the pious fancy of his believers who have created him piecemeal. The true Jesus, the Jesus of history, was born as are all other men; he lived like them; he did no more miracles than they! He taught a purer morality, and founded a religion less imperfect than others. Like all reformers, as a rule, he succumbed to the jealousies of his contemporaries. Becoming the victim of Jewish hatred and dying as we die, he has neither ascended to heaven nor is he living with God!

I revolted (pardon the phrase) not only in my Christian faith, but in my impartiality as a man, at this contradiction. Convinced that Jesus was the invisible God in a human form resembling our own, I, as a historian, regard him as still living, such as he was in this double nature.

The question of his Divinity has divided the greatest minds since the advent of Christ, and it will create division to the end. It is already a strange phenomenon that Jesus alone disposed of a problem that never sleeps in the consciousness of humanity,—a problem that always excites the emotions. I shall permit myself here to make a simple historical reflection addressed to unprejudiced men, to true critics with open minds.

This violent contradiction and contention of which Jesus is the object was prophesied. It shall last as long as the world; it afflicts the Christian, but it does not astonish or trouble him; he sees the signs of his Master. It is the product of living the life of Christ.

While his Disciples in reply to the question said: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God," the Jews said: "He is but a prophet"; others, blinder, called him a blasphemer and a conspirator.

After he had left the earth and while his Apostles preached in the Jewish synagogues, the Messiah, God and man, filled with the wisdom and goodness of God, the first sectaries, the Nazarenes and Ebionites, would see in him nothing but a man.

The contention on this point continued for centuries. A Pagan philosopher, Celsus, without denying the miracles of Christ,

ridiculed his doctrines, calling them absurd, and his Cross he called infamous. Origen refuted him and proclaimed with his mighty voice the divinity of his master. Since then the ages have advanced; the Crucified One has grown, destroying paganism, absorbing philosophy, dethroning empires, conquering the earth, civilizing the barbarian, creating a new world!

With what reason, then, did the Jews anathematize Jesus and kill him! Pagans, like Tacitus, Suetonius, and the honest proconsul of Bithnyia, Pliny the younger, disdained him, and looked upon his Disciples as a detestable sect. Philosophers like Celsus, bore him down with their wisdom, while the Apostles adored in him the Son of God.

If Jesus was, indeed, but the wretch despised by Jews and Pagans, how has he carved on earth such a pathway? How has he founded a religion that dominates the earth? Were he merely human, the achievements would be inexplicable, and it is the popular proof that Jesus is what the Church affirms him to be.

We must not confound criticism with history. Though inseparable from each other, they must remain distinct. In its general sense criticism is the exercise of the judgment, a faculty essential in all reasonable beings. To criticize and to judge are synonomous terms. For judgment as criticism first tries to discern the true from the false. This is the first right and the most necessary duty of the mind. Whatever the domain it explores, religion, philosophy, science, literature, æsthetics, even in mathematics, reason must be attentive to discern the real from the apparent, the true, sometimes unapparent, from the false which is frequently most plausible.

Criticism, therefore, cannot be a special science. It is rather a condition of all science. It enters into the logical rules which determine how men shall think fairly and judge justly. These simple considerations demonstrate the vanity of those who would arrogate a monopoly of criticism. The school of criticism is the school of all the world. Each has a right to claim and to exercise it. The most ordinary temptation of the cultivated mind is to desire to criticize too much, to overjudge, to criticize even that of which he knows nothing. The sage moderates this intemperance. He learns to judge only what he knows, never forgetting that his knowledge is limited and his ignorance immeasurable.

One may be a good critic in philosophy and a very poor judge of religion or history. Certain human sciences demand, not only the speculative mind, but a long experience.

Moral doctrines are much better criticized even by the ignorant who have experimented with virtue than by the skeptic who doubts the austere joys of sacrifice.

The saints who lived on the word of Jesus will always understand him better than the exacting Pharisees who repelled him and knew not the Savior. A delicate taste distinguishes shadings which escape the chemist.

As applied to history, the critic has a well-defined duty. The object of history is to state facts. That is, the facts of the past being known to us but by documents, and the documents being the records of witnesses, more or less immediate, to the facts themselves, the critic should examine the documents, facts, and witnesses together.

Some facts are absurd; the critic discards them. Some documents are altered or suspected; the critic notices and amends. If some witnesses are unworthy of belief, he unmasks and confounds them.

In all that concerns the life of Christ, the critic has the right and the duty to inspect the documents and the witnesses we adduce. To judge the life, the antiquity, and the authenticity of one, the value as testimony of the other, they should examine the nature of the facts in the documents as reported by the witnesses.

LORD GEORGE DIGBY

(1612–1676)

LORD GEORGE DIGBY, son of John Digby, Earl of Bristol, was one of the most notable orators of the Parliamentary party under Charles I., and had he been more thoroughgoing as a reformer, he might have easily become one of the greatest historical characters of the period. Clarendon says that he was "of great eloquence and becoming in discourse," but after opposing the attempt of the King to dispense with Parliament and make himself absolute, he went over to the court and so virtually disappeared from history. The occasion of the change was his refusal to join in compassing the death of Strafford. Appointed one of the committee of impeachment he made a speech declaring that the House of Commons, without the lords and the King, had no right to pass a bill of attainder, involving a death sentence. He advised that the bill be laid aside and another substituted such as would secure the State from Lord Strafford, "saving only life." For this advice he was finally expelled from Parliament after his speech had been ordered burned by the hangman. The King made him a baron, and in 1641–42 he was accused of high treason in Parliament. The next year he was Secretary of State to the King. During the Commonwealth he went into exile, and, returning after the Restoration, was made a Knight of the Garter.

"GRIEVANCES AND OPPRESSIONS" UNDER CHARLES I.

(Delivered in Parliament, November 9th, 1640, on Moving the Remonstrance to the King)

Mr. Speaker:—

YOU have received now a solemn account from most of the shires of England of the several grievances and oppressions they sustain, and nothing as yet from Dorsetshire. Sir, I would not have you think that I serve for a land of Goshen, that we live there in sunshine, whilst darkness and plagues overspread the rest of the land; as little would I have you think that being under the same sharp measure as the rest, we are either

insensible or benumbed, or that the shire wanteth a servant to represent its sufferings boldly.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, the county of Dorset hath not digested its complaints into that formal way of petition which others (I see) have done, but have intrusted them to my partners and my delivery of them by word of mouth unto this honorable House. And there was given unto us in the county court, the day of our election, a short memorial of the heads of them, which was read in the hearing of the freeholders there present, who all unanimously with one voice signified upon each particular, that it was their desire that we should represent them to the Parliament, which, with your leave, I shall do, and these they are:—

1. The great and intolerable burden of Ship-Money, touching the legality whereof they are unsatisfied.
2. The many great abuses in pressing of soldiers, and raising money concerning the same.
3. The multitude of monopolies.
4. The new canon, and the oath to be taken by lawyers, divines, etc.
5. The oath required to be taken by Church officers according to articles new and unusual.

Besides this there was likewise presented to us by a very considerable part of the clergy of that county a note of remonstrance containing these two particulars:—

Firstly, the imposition of a new oath required to be taken by all ministers and others, which they conceive to be illegal, and such as they cannot take with a good conscience.

Secondly, the requiring of a pretended benevolence, but in effect a subsidy, under the penalty of suspension, excommunication, and deprivation, all benefit of appeal excluded.

This is all we had particularly in charge, but that I may not appear a remiss servant of my country and of this House, give me leave to add somewhat of my own sense.

Truly, Mr. Speaker, the injurious sufferings of some worthy Members of this House, since the dissolution of the last two Parliaments, are so fresh in my memory that I was resolved not to open my mouth in any business wherein freedom and plain dealing were requisite, until such time as the breach of our privileges was vindicated and the safety of speech settled.

But since such excellent Members of our House thought fit the other day to lay aside that caution and to discharge their souls so freely in the way of zeal to his Majesty's service and their country's good, I shall interpret that confidence of theirs for a lucky omen to this Parliament, and with your permission license my thoughts, too, a little.

Mr. Speaker, under those heads which I proposed to you as the grievances of Dorsetshire, I suppose are comprised the greatest part of the mischiefs which have of late years laid battery either to our estates or consciences.

Sir, I do not conceive this the fit season to search and ventilate particulars, yet I profess I cannot forbear to add somewhat to what was said the last day by a learned gentleman of the long robe, concerning the acts of that reverend new synod, made of an old convocation. Doth not every Parliament man's heart rise to see the prelates thus usurp to themselves the grand preeminence of Parliament? The granting of subsidies, and that under so preposterous a name as of a benevolence, for that which is a malevolence, indeed; a malevolence I am confident in those that granted it against Parliaments, and a malevolence surely in those that refuse it, against those that granted it,—for how can it incite less when they see wrested from them what they are not willing to part with, under no less a penalty than the loss of both heaven and earth: of heaven by excommunication, and of the earth by deprivation,—and this without redemption by appeal? What good Christian can think with patience on such an ensnaring oath as that which is by the new canons enjoined to be taken by all ministers, lawyers, physicians, and graduates in the universities, where, besides the swearing such an impertinence, as that things necessary to salvation are contained in discipline; besides the swearing those to be of divine right, which, amongst the learned, never pretended to it as the arch things in our hierarchy; besides the swearing not to consent to the change of that which the State may, upon great reason, think fit to alter; besides the bottomless perjury of an "*et cetera*,"—besides all this, Mr. Speaker, men must swear that they swear freely and voluntarily what they are compelled unto; and, lastly, that they swear that oath in the literal sense, whereof no two of the makers themselves that I have heard of, could ever agree in the understanding?

In a word, Mr. Speaker, to tell you my opinion of this oath, it is a covenant against the King, for bishops and the hierarchy; as the Scottish covenant is against them, only so much worse than the Scottish, as they admit not of the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and we are sworn unto it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, for those particular heads of grievances whereby our estates and properties are so radically invaded, I suppose (as I said before) that it is no season now to enter into a strict discussion of them; only this much I shall say of them, with application to the country for which I serve, that none can more justly complain, since none can more fully challenge exemption from such burdens than Dorsetshire, whether you consider it a country subsisting much by trade, or as none of the most populous, or as exposed as much as any to foreign invasion.

But alas, Mr. Speaker, particular lamentations are hardly distinguishable in universal groans.

Mr. Speaker, it hath been a metaphor frequent in Parliament, and, if my memory fail me not, was made use of in the lord keeper's speech at the opening of the last, that what money kings raised from their subjects, they were but as vapors drawn up from the earth by the sun, to be distilled upon it again in fructifying showers. The comparison, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late years too unluckily; what hath been raised from the subject by those violent attractions hath been formed, it is true, into clouds. But how? To darken the sun's own lustre! And it hath fallen again upon the land only in hailstones and mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our liberties, to blast and wither our affections, had the latter of these been still kept alive by our King's own personal virtues, which will ever preserve him, in spite of all ill counselors, a sacred object, both of our admiration and love.

Mr. Speaker, it hath been often said in this House, and I think it can never be too often repeated, that the kings of England can do no wrong; but though they could, Mr. Speaker, yet princes have no part in the ill of those actions which their judges assure them to be just, their counselors that they are prudent, and their divines that they are conscientious.

This consideration, Mr. Speaker, leadeth me to that which is more necessary far, at this season, than any further laying open of our miseries,—that is, the way to the remedy, by seeking to remove from our Sovereign, such unjust judges, such pernicious

counselors, and such disconscient divines, as have of late years, by their wicked practices, provoked aspersions upon the government of the graciousest and best of kings.

Mr. Speaker, let me not be misunderstood, I level at no man with a forelaid design. Let the faults, and those well proved, lead us to the men; it is the only true parliamentary method and the only fit one to incline our Sovereign. For it can no more conflict with a gracious and righteous prince to expose his servants, upon irregular prejudices, than with a wise prince to withhold malefactors, how great soever, from the course of orderly justice.

Let me acquaint you, Mr. Speaker, with an aphorism in Hypocrates, no less authentic, I think, in the body politic than in the natural. Thus it is, Mr. Speaker, "bodies to be thoroughly and effectually purged must have their humors first made fluid and movable."

The humors that I understand to have caused all the desperate maladies of this nation are the ill ministers. To purge them away clearly they must first be loosened, unsettled, and extenuated, which can no way be affected with a gracious master, but by truly representing them unworthy of his protection.

And this leadeth me to my motion, which is, that a select committee may be appointed to draw out of all that hath here been represented, such a remonstrance as may be a faithful and lively representation unto his Majesty of the deplorable estate of this Kingdom, and such as may happily discover unto his clear and excellent judgment the pernicious authors of it. And that this remonstrance being drawn, we may with all speed repair to the lords, and desire them to join with us in it; and this is my humble motion.

THE ARMY IN DOMESTIC POLITICS

(Delivered in the House of Commons, April 21st, 1641, on the Bill of Attainder against Strafford)

WE ARE now upon the point of giving, as much as in us lies, the final sentence unto death or life, on a great minister of state and peer of this kingdom, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, a name of hatred in the present age for his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment.

I have had the honor to be employed by the House in this great business, from the first hour it was taken into consideration. It was a matter of great trust; and I will say with confidence that I have served the House in it, not only with industry, according to my ability, but with most exact faithfulness and justice.

And as I have hitherto discharged my duty to this House and to my country in the progress of this great cause, so I trust I shall do now, in the last period of it, to God and to a good conscience. I do wish the peace of that to myself, and the blessing of Almighty God to me and my posterity, according as my judgment on the life of this man shall be consonant with my heart, and the best of my understanding in all integrity.

I know well that by some things I have said of late, while this bill was in agitation, I have raised some prejudices against me in the cause. Yea, some (I thank them for their plain dealing) have been so free to tell me, that I have suffered much by the backwardness I have shown in the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, against whom I have formerly been so keen, so active.

I beg of you, Mr. Speaker, and the rest, but a suspension of judgment concerning me, till I have opened my heart to you, clearly and freely, in this business. Truly, sir, I am still the same in my opinion and affections as to the Earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be charactered. I believe that his practices in themselves to have been as high and tyrannical as any subject ever ventured on; and the malignity of them greatly aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the use, but the devil the application. In a word, I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the Commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be dispatched to the other.

And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch. I protest, as my conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off.

Let me unfold to you the mystery, Mr. Speaker: I will not dwell much upon justifying to you my seeming variance at this time from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the difference between prosecutors and judges — how misbecoming that fervor would be in a judge which, perhaps, was commend-

able in a prosecutor. Judges we are now, and must, therefore, put on another personage. It is honest and noble to be earnest in order to the discovery of truth; but when that hath been brought so far as it can be to light, our judgment thereupon ought to be calm and cautious. In prosecution upon probable grounds we are accountable only for our industry or remissness; but in judgment we are deeply responsible to Almighty God for its rectitude or obliquity. In cases of life, the judge is God's steward of the party's blood, and must give a strict account of every drop.

But, as I told you, Mr. Speaker, I will not insist long upon this ground of difference in me from what I was formerly. The truth of it is, sir, the same ground whereupon I, with the rest of the few to whom you first committed the consideration of my Lord Strafford, brought down our opinion that it was fit he should be accused of treason — upon the same ground, I was engaged with earnestness in his prosecution; and had the same ground remained in that force of belief in me, which till very lately it did, I should not have been tender in his condemnation. But truly, sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground of our accusation — that which should be the basis of our judgment of the Earl of Strafford as to treason — is, to my understanding, quite vanished away.

This it was, Mr. Speaker,— his advising the King to employ the army in Ireland to reduce England. This I was assured would be proved before I gave my consent to his accusation. I was confirmed in the same belief during the prosecution, and fortified most of all in it after Sir Henry Vane's preparatory examination, by assurances which that worthy Member, Mr. Pym, gave me, that his testimony would be made convincing by some notes of what passed in the Junto (Privy Council) concurrent with it. This I ever understood would be of some other counselor; but you see now, it proves only to be a copy of the same secretary's notes, discovered and produced in the manner you have heard; and those such disjointed fragments of the venomous parts of discourses — no results, no conclusions of councils, which are the only things that secretaries should register, there being no use of the other but to accuse and bring men into danger.

But, sir, this is not that which overthrows the evidence with me concerning the army in Ireland, nor yet that all the rest of the Junto remember nothing of it; but this, sir, which I shall

tell you, is that which works with me, under favor, to an utter overthrow of his evidence as touching the army of Ireland. Before, while I was prosecutor, and under tie of secrecy, I might not discover (disclose) any weakness of the cause, which now, as Judge, I must.

Mr. Secretary Vane was examined thrice upon oath at the preparatory committee. The first time he was questioned as to all the interrogatories; and to that part of the seventh which concerns the army of Ireland, he said positively these words: "I cannot charge him with that"; but for the rest, he desired time to recollect himself, which was granted him. Some days after, he was examined a second time, and then deposed these words concerning the King's being absolved from rules of government, and so forth, very clearly. But being pressed as to that part of the Irish army, he said he could say "nothing to that." Here we thought we had done with him, till divers weeks after, my Lord of Northumberland, and all others of the Junto, denying to have heard anything concerning those words of reducing England by the Irish army, it was thought fit to examine the secretary once more; and then he deposed these words to have been spoken by the Earl of Strafford to his Majesty: "You have an army in Ireland, which you may employ here to reduce [or some word to that sense] this kingdom." Mr. Speaker, these are the circumstances which I confess with my conscience, thrust quite out of doors that grand article of our charge concerning his desperate advice to the King of employing the Irish army here.

Let not this, I beseech you, be driven to an aspersion upon Mr. Secretary, as if he should have sworn otherwise than he knew or believed. He is too worthy to do that. Only let this much be inferred from it, that he, who twice upon oath, with time of recollection, could not remember anything of such a business, might well, a third time, misremember somewhat; and in this business the difference of one word "here" for "there," or "that" for "this," quite alters the case; the latter also being the more probable, since it is confessed on all hands that the debate then was concerning a war with Scotland. And you may remember that at the bar he once said, "employ there." And thus, Mr. Speaker, have I faithfully given you an account what it is that hath blunted the edge of the hatchet, or bill, with me, toward my Lord Strafford.

This was that whereupon I accused him with a free heart; prosecuted him with earnestness; and had it to my understanding been proved, should have condemned him with innocence; whereas now I cannot satisfy my conscience to do it. I profess I can have no notion of any body's intent to subvert the laws treasonably, but by force; and this design of force not appearing, all his other wicked practices cannot amount so high with me. I can find a more easy and natural spring from whence to derive all his other crimes than from an intent to bring in tyranny, and make his own posterity, as well as us, slaves; *viz.*, from revenge, from pride, from passion, and from insolence of nature. But had this of the Irish army been proved, it would have diffused a complexion of treason over all. It would have been a withe, indeed, to bind all those other scattered and lesser branches, as it were, into a fagot of treason.

I do not say but the rest of the things charged may represent him a man as worthy to die, and perhaps worthier than many a traitor. I do not say but they may justly direct us to enact that they shall be treason for the future. But God keep me from giving judgment of death on any man, and of ruin to his innocent posterity, upon a law made *à posteriori.* Let the mark be set on the door where the plague is, and then let him that will enter, die.

I know, Mr. Speaker, there is in Parliament a double power of life and death by bill, a judicial power, and a legislative. The measure of the one is what is legally just; of the other, what is prudentially and politically fit for the good and preservation of the whole. But these two, under favor, are not to be confounded in judgment. We must not piece out want of legality with matter of convenience, nor the defailance of prudential fitness with a pretense of legal justice.

To condemn my Lord of Strafford judicially, as for treason, my conscience is not assured that the matter will bear it, and to do it by the legislative power, my reason consultively cannot agree to that, since I am persuaded that neither the lords nor the King will pass this bill; and, consequently, that our passing it will be a cause of great divisions and contentions in the state.

Therefore, my humble advice is, that, laying aside this bill of attainder, we may think of another, saving only life, such as may secure the state from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering

it as much by division concerning his punishment as he hath endangered it by his practices.

If this may not be hearkened unto, let me conclude in saying that to you all which I have thoroughly inculcated upon mine own conscience, on this occasion. Let every man lay his hand upon his own heart and seriously consider what we are going to do with a breath; either justice or murder — justice on the one side, or murder, heightened and aggravated to its supremest extent, on the other! For, as the casuists say, he who lies with his sister commits incest, but he that marries his sister sins higher, by applying God's ordinance to his crime; so, doubtless, he that commits murder with the sword of justice, heightens that crime to the utmost.

The danger being so great and the case so doubtful that I see the best lawyers in diametrical opposition concerning it, let every man wipe his heart as he does his eyes, when he would judge of a nice and subtle object. The eye, if it be pretinctured with any color, is vitiated in its discerning. Let us take heed of a blood-shotten eye in judgment. Let every man purge his heart clear of all passions. I know this great and wise body politic can have none; but I speak to individuals from the weakness which I find in myself. Away with personal animosities! Away with all flatteries to the people, in being the sharper against him because he is odious to them! Away with all fears, lest by sparing his blood they may be incensed! Away with all such considerations, as that it is not fit for a Parliament that one accused by it of treason should escape with life! Let not former vehemence of any against him, nor fear from thence that he cannot be safe while that man lives, be an ingredient in the sentence of any one of us.

Of all these corruptives of judgment, Mr. Speaker, I do, before God, discharge myself to the utmost of my power; and do now, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood by this solemn protestation, that my vote goes not to the taking of the Earl of Strafford's life.

SIR CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, BART.

(1843–)

THE distinguished author of 'Greater Britain' was born at Chelsea, September 4th, 1843. His father, the late Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, was prominent in the intellectual life of his day, and his 'Papers of a Critic,' edited by his son, keep their place in the libraries of England and America.

After his graduation from Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in January 1866, as "Senior Legalist," Sir Charles was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. Soon afterwards he made the celebrated tour of the world which resulted in the production of "Greater Britain"—a work which is believed to have had a larger sale than any other "first book" of its class ever printed in English. Sir Charles traveled in the United States, Canada, Australia, India, and other countries which either acknowledge English authority or represent the "Anglo-Saxon" tradition. Studying the influence of race on institutions, and of climatic and geographical conditions on race, he presented new problems for consideration, and forced his work on public attention as one which showed marked originality and great intellectual activity.

Returning to England, Sir Charles, who has always been a Radical in politics, was elected to Parliament from the new borough of Chelsea, which he continued to represent until his defeat in 1886. When re-elected, it was for Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire, which he now represents.

Among the numerous achievements of his parliamentary career, was the abolition of "drawing and quartering," which still remained a legal method of punishment in England until he compelled the attention of the House of Commons to it. Another was the reform through which school boards are elected by the rate-payers. In May 1880 he became Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Gladstone ministry. In 1881–82 he was chairman of the Royal Commission for Negotiating a Commercial Treaty with France; in December 1892 he was appointed President of the Local Government Board with a seat in the Cabinet, and the following year he took charge of and carried the Unreformed Corporation Bill. In 1884 he was chairman of the Royal Commission for Housing the Poor, and in 1885 he took charge of and carried the Diseases Prevention Act.

At the beginning of his parliamentary career he openly declared that he preferred a republic to a constitutional monarchy, and one of his speeches on the expense of monarchy prompted a celebrated response in favor of aristocracy from Disraeli. As a speaker, Sir Charles is forcible and direct. Few men in English public life have spoken more effectively, but as he does not prepare his speeches by writing them in advance, some of his best and most representative efforts are reported only in synopsis. Without doubt he has been more effective in a practical way as a speaker than as an author, but since it is as the author of 'Greater Britain' and works on related subjects that he first made his international reputation, a rule of the World's Great Orations is suspended in his case, and the examples of his style here given are from his 'Greater Britain' rather than from his speeches. He is the author of other notable works besides 'Greater Britain'—among them 'The Present Position of European Politics (1887)'; 'The British Army'; 'Problems of Greater Britain'; and 'The Fall of Prince Florestan of Monaco,' a satire which, when he published it anonymously in 1874, had a great run in England, and was translated into French.

Sir Charles is generally recognized as the ablest living opponent of English Conservatism. As a Radical he is eminently practical. There is nothing destructive or emotional in his theories of government, and the parliamentary debates show that on all questions of the greatest moment,—especially on those affecting England's foreign policy and the condition of her city populations,—he has been one of the most efficient constructive statesmen of his day. He has had the Premiership of England in reach, and if English Liberals had the courage of their convictions, they might have in him now a leader capable of giving Liberalism a meaning it has lost since the death of Gladstone.

In 1898, Sir Charles in a public statement which was cabled to this country, reiterated his well-known views on America and the possibilities of achievement in its future. As a result, he was asked to take the premiership of the Advisory Council of the World's Best Orations. When the idea of the work was explained to him, he promptly accepted the position, and has greatly contributed—as have all other members of the Council—to the success of the work.

AMERICA

WE ARE coasting again, gliding through calm, blue waters, watching the dolphins as they play, and the boobies as they fly, stroke and stroke, with the paddles of the ship. On the right, mountains rise through the warm, misty air, and form a long towering line upon the upper skies. Hanging high above us are the volcano of fire and that of water — twin menacers of Guatemala city. In the sixteenth century the water-mountain drowned it; in the eighteenth it was burnt by the fire-hill. Since then the city has been shaken to pieces by earthquakes, and of sixty thousand men and women, hardly one escaped. Down the valley, between the peaks, we have through the mahogany groves an exquisite distant view toward the city. Once more passing on, we get peeps, now of West Honduras, and now of the island coffee plantations of Costa Rica. The heat is terrible. It was just here, if we are to believe Drake, that he fell in with a shower so hot and scalding that each drop burnt its hole through his men's clothes as they hung up to dry. "Steep stories," it is clear, were known before the plantation of America.

Now that the time has come for a leave-taking of the continent, we can begin to reflect upon facts gleaned during visits to twenty-nine of the forty-five Territories and States — twenty-nine empires the size of Spain.

A man may see American countries, from the pine wastes of Maine to the slopes of Sierra; may talk with American men and women, from the sober citizens of Boston to Digger Indians in California; may eat of American dishes, from jerked buffalo in Colorado to clambakes on the shores near Salem; and yet, from the time he first "smells the molasses" at Nantucket light-ship to the moment when the pilot quits him at the Golden Gate, may have no idea of an America. You may have seen the East, the South, the West, the Pacific States, and yet have failed to find America. It is not till you have left her shores that her image grows up in the mind.

The first thing that strikes the Englishman just landed in New York is the apparent Latinization of the English in America; but before he leaves the country he comes to see that this is at most a local fact, and that the true moral of America is

the vigor of the English race — the defeat of the cheaper by the dearer peoples, the victory of the man whose food costs four shillings a day over the man whose food costs four pence. Excluding the Atlantic cities, the English in America are absorbing the Germans and the Celts, destroying the Red Indians, and checking the advance of the Chinese.

The Saxon is the only extirpating race on earth. Up to the commencement of the now inevitable destruction of the Red Indians of Central North America, of the Maories, and of the Australians by the English colonists, no numerous race had ever been blotted out by an invader. The Danes and Saxons amalgamated with the Britons, the Goths and Burgundians with the Gauls; the Spaniards not only never annihilated a people, but have themselves been all but completely expelled by the Indians in Mexico and South America. The Portuguese in Ceylon, the Dutch in Java, the French in Canada and Algeria, have conquered but not killed off the native peoples. Hitherto it has been nature's rule that the race that peopled a country in the earliest historic days should people it to the end of time. The American problem is this: Does the law, in a modified shape, hold good, in spite of the destruction of the native population? Is it true that the negroes, now that they are free, are commencing slowly to die out — that the New Englanders are dying fast, and their places being supplied by immigrants? Can the English in America, in the long run, survive the common fate of all migrating races? Is it true that, if the American settlers continue to exist, it will be at the price of being no longer English, but Red Indian? It is certain that the English families long in the land have the features of the extirpated race; on the other hand, in the negroes there is at present no trace of any change, save in their becoming dark brown instead of black.

The Maories — an immigrant race — were dying off in New Zealand when we landed there. The Red Indians of Mexico — another immigrant people — had themselves undergone decline, numerical and moral, when we first became acquainted with them. Are we English in turn to degenerate abroad, under pressure of a great natural law forbidding change? It is easy to say that the English in Old England are not a native, but an immigrant race; that they show no symptoms of decline. There, however, the change was slight, the distance short, the difference of climate small.

The rapidity of the disappearance of physical type is equaled at least, if not succeeded, by that of the total alteration of the moral characteristics of the immigrant races — the entire destruction of eccentricity, in short. The change that comes over those among the Irish who do not remain in the great towns is not greater than that which overtakes the English hand-workers, of whom some thousands reach America each year. Gradually settling down on land, and finding themselves lost in a sea of intelligence, and freed from the inspiring obstacles of antiquated institutions and class prejudice, the English handicraftsman, ceasing to be roused to aggressive Radicalism by the opposition of sinister interests, merges into the contented homestead settler or adventurous backwoodsman. Greater even than this revolution of character is that which falls upon the Celt. Not only is it a fact known alike to physiologists and statisticians, that the children of Irish parents born in America are, physically, not Irish, but Americans, but the like is true of the moral type; the change in this is at least as sweeping. The son of Fenian Pat and bright-eyed Biddy is the normal, gaunt American, quick of thought, but slow of speech, whom we have begun to recognize as the latest production of the Saxon race, when housed upon the Western prairies, or in the pine woods of New England.

For the moral change in the British workmen it is not difficult to account; the man who will leave country, home, and friends, to seek new fortunes in America, is essentially not an ordinary man. As a rule, he is above the average in intelligence, or, if defective in this point, he makes up for lack of wit by the possession of concentrativeness and energy. Such a man will have pushed himself to the front in his club, his union, or his shop, before he emigrates. In England he is somebody; in America he finds all hands contented, or, if not this, at all events too busy to complain of such ills as they profess to labor under. Among contented men, his equals both in intelligence and ambition, in a country of perfect freedom of speech, of manners, of laws, and of society, the occupation of his mind is gone, and he comes to think himself what others seem to think him — a nobody; a man who no longer is a living force. He settles upon land; and when the world knows him no more, his children are happy corn-growers in his stead.

The shape of North America makes the existence of distinct peoples within her limits almost impossible. An upturned bowl,

with a mountain rim, from which the streams run inward toward the centre, she must fuse together all the races that settle within her borders, and the fusion must now be in an English mold.

There are homogenous foreign populations in several portions of the United States; not only the Irish and Chinese, at whose prospects we have already glanced, but also Germans in Pennsylvania, Spanish in Florida, French in Louisiana and at Sault de Ste. Marie. In Wisconsin there is a Norwegian population of over a hundred thousand, retaining their own language and their own architecture, and presenting the appearance of a tough morsel for the English to digest; at the same time, the Swedes were the first settlers of Delaware and New Jersey, and there they have disappeared.

Milwaukee is a Norwegian town. The houses are narrow and high, the windows many, with circular tops ornamented in wood or dark-brown stone, and a heavy wooden cornice crowns the front. The churches have the wooden bulb and spire which are characteristic of the Scandinavian public buildings. The Norwegians will not mix with other races, and invariably flock to spots where there is already a large population speaking their own tongue. Those who enter Canada generally become dissatisfied with the country, and pass on into Wisconsin or Minnesota, but the Canadian Government has now under its consideration a plan for founding a Norwegian colony on Lake Huron. The numbers of this people are not so great as to make it important to inquire whether they will ever merge into the general population. Analogy would lead us to expect that they will be absorbed; their existence is not historical, like that of the French in Lower Canada.

From Burlington, in Iowa, I had visited a spot the history of which is typical of the development of America — Nauvoo. Founded in 1840 by Joe Smith, the Mormon city stood upon a bluff overhanging the Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi, presenting on the land-side the aspect of a gentle, graceful slope surmounted by a plain. After the fanatical pioneers of English civilization had been driven from the city and their temple burned, there came Cabet's Icarian band, who tried to found a new France in the desert; but in 1856 the leader died, and his people dispersed themselves about the States of Iowa and Missouri. Next came the English settlers, active, thriving, regardless of tradition, and Nauvoo is entering on a new life as the

capital of a wine-growing country. I found Cabet and the Mormons alike forgotten. The ruins of the temple have disappeared, and the huge stones have been used up in cellars, built to contain the Hock — a pleasant wine, like Zeltinger.

The bearing upon religion of the gradual destruction of race is of great moment to the world. Christianity will gain by the change; but which of its many branches will receive support is a question which only admits of an imperfect answer. Arguing *a priori*, we should expect to find that, on the one hand, a tendency toward unity would manifest itself, taking the shape, perhaps, of a gain of strength by the Catholic and Anglican Churches; on the other hand, there would be a contrary and still stronger tendency toward an infinite multiplication of beliefs, till millions of men and women would become each of them his own church. Coming to the actual cases in which we can trace the tendencies that commence to manifest themselves, we find that in America the Anglican Church is gaining ground, especially on the Pacific side, and that the Catholics do not seem to meet with any such success as we should have looked for; retaining, indeed, their hold over the Irish women and a portion of the men, and having their historic French branches in Louisiana and in Canada, but not, unless it be in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, making much way among the English.

Between San Francisco and Chicago, for religious purposes the most cosmopolitan of cities, we have to draw distinctions. In the Pacific city, the disturbing cause is the presence of New Yorkers; in the metropolis of the Northwestern States, it is the dominance of New England ideas; still, we shall find no two cities so free from local color, and from the influence of race. The result of an examination is not encouraging; in both cities there is much external show in the shape of Church attendance; in neither does religion strike its roots deeply into the hearts of its citizens, except so far as it is alien and imported.

The Spiritualist and Unitarian Churches are both of them in Chicago extremely strong; they support newspapers and periodicals of their own, and are led by men of remarkable ability and energy, but they are not the less Cambridge Unitarianism, Boston Spiritualism; there is nothing of the Northwest about them. In San Francisco, on the other hand, Anglicanism is prospering, but it is New York Episcopalianism, sustained by immigrants and money from the East; in no sense is it a Californian Church.

Throughout America the multiplication of churches is rapid, but, among the native-born Americans, Supernaturalism is advancing with great strides. The Shakers are strong in thought, the Spiritualists in wealth and numbers; Communism gains ground, but not Polygamy — the Mormon is a purely European Church.

There is just now progressing in America a great movement, headed by the "Radical Unitarians," toward "free religion," or Church without creed. The leaders deny that there is sufficient security for the spread of religion in each man's individual action; they desire collective work by all free-thinkers and liberal religionists in the direction of truth and purity of life. Christianity is higher than dogma, we are told; there is no way out of infinite multiplication of creeds but by their total extirpation. Oneness of purpose and a common love for truth form the members' only tie. Elder Frederick Evans said to me, "All truth forms part of Shakerism"; but these free religionists assure us that in all truth consists their sole religion.

The distinctive feature of these American philosophical and religious systems is their gigantic width; for instance, every human being who admits that disembodied spirits may in any way hold intercourse with dwellers upon earth, whatever else he may believe or disbelieve, is claimed by the Spiritualists as a member of their Church. They tell us that by "Spiritualism they understand whatever bears relation to spirit"; their system embraces all existence, brute, human, and divine; in fact, "the real man is a spirit." According to these ardent proselytizers, every poet, every man with a grain of imagination in his nature, is a "Spiritualist." They claim Plato, Socrates, Milton, Shakespeare, Washington Irving, Charles Dickens, Luther, Melanchthon, Paul, Stephen, the whole of the Hebrew prophets, Homer, and John Wesley, among the members of their Church. They have lately canonized new saints; St. Confucius, St. Theodore (Parker), St. Ralph (Waldo Emerson), St. Emma (Hardings), all figure in their calendar. It is a noteworthy fact that the saints are mostly resident in New England.

The tracts published at the Spiritual Clarion Office, Auburn, New York, put forward Spiritualism as a religion, which is to stand toward existing churches as did Christianity toward Judaism, and announce a new dispensation to the people of the earth "who have sown their wild oats in Christianity." But they spell "supersede" with a "c."

This strange religion has long since left behind the rappings and table-turnings in which it took its birth. The secret of its success is that it supplies to every man the satisfaction of the universal craving for the supernatural in any form in which he will receive it. The Spiritualists claim two millions of active believers and five million "favorers" in America.

The presence of a large German population is thought by some to have an important bearing on the religious future of America, but the Germans have hitherto kept themselves apart from the intellectual progress of the nation. They for the most part withdraw from towns, and, retaining their language and supporting local papers of their own, live out of the world of American literature, politics, and thought, taking, however, at rare intervals, a patriotic part in national affairs, as was notably the case at the time of the last rebellion. Living thus by themselves, they have even less influence upon American religious thought than have the Irish, who, speaking the English tongue, and dwelling almost exclusively in towns, are brought more in contact with the daily life of the republic. The Germans in America are in the main pure materialists under a certain show of deism; but hitherto there has been no alliance between them and the powerful Chicago Radical Unitarians — difference of language having thus far proved a bar to the formation of a league which would otherwise have been inevitable.

On the whole, it would seem that for the moment religious prospects are not bright; the tendency is rather toward intense and unhealthily developed feeling in the few, and subscription to some one of the Episcopalian Churches — Catholic, Anglican, or Methodist — among the many, coupled with real indifference. Neither the tendency to unity of creeds nor that toward infinite multiplication of beliefs has yet made that progress which abstract speculation would have led us to expect. So far as we can judge from the few facts before us, there is much likelihood that multiplication will in the future prove too strong for unity.

After all, there is not in America a greater wonder than the Englishman himself, for it is to this continent that you must come to find him in full possession of his powers. Two hundred and fifty millions of people speak or are ruled by those who speak the English tongue and inhabit a third of the habitable globe; but at the present rate of increase, in sixty years there will be two hundred and fifty millions of Englishmen dwelling

in the United States alone. America has somewhat grown since the time when it was gravely proposed to call her "Alleghania," after a chain of mountains which, looking from this western side, may be said to skirt her eastern border, and the loftiest peaks of which are but half the height of the very passes of the Rocky Mountains.

America is becoming, not English merely, but world-embracing in the variety of its type; and as the English element has given language and history to that land, America offers the English race the moral directorship of the globe, by ruling mankind through Saxon institutions and the English tongue. Through America, England is speaking to the world.

OMPHALISM

Dashing through a grove of cottonwood trees draped in bignonia and ivy, we came out suddenly upon a charming scene; a range of huts and forts crowning a long, low hill seamed with many a timber-clothed ravine, while the clear stream of the Republican Fork wreathed itself about the woods and bluffs. The blockhouse over which floated the Stars and Stripes was Fort Riley, the Hyde Park Corner from which continents are to measure all their miles; the "capital of the universe," or "centre of the world." Not that it has always been so. Geographers will be glad to learn that not only does the earth gyrate, but that the centre of its crust also moves; within the last ten years it has removed westward into Kansas from Missouri, from Independence to Fort Riley. The contest for centreship is no new thing. Herodotus held that Greece was the very middle of the world, and that the unhappy Orientals were frozen, and the yet more unfortunate Atlantic Indians baked every afternoon of their poor lives in order that the sun might shine on Greece at noon; London plumes herself on being the "centre of the terrestrial globe"; Boston is the "hub of the hull universe," though the latter claim is less physical than moral, I believe. In Fort Riley, the Western men seem to have found the physical centre of the United States, but they claim for the Great Plains as well the intellectual as the political leadership of the whole continent. These hitherto untrodden tracts, they tell you, form the heart of the empire, from which the lifeblood must

be driven to the extremities. Geographical and political centres must ultimately coincide.

Connected with this belief is another Western theory — that the powers of the future must be "Continental." Germany, or else Russia, is to absorb all Asia and Europe except Britain. North America is already cared for, as the gradual extinction of the Mexicans and absorption of the Canadians they consider certain. As for South America, the Californians are already planning an occupation of western Brazil, on the ground that the continental power of South America must start from the head waters of the great rivers and spread seaward down the streams. Even in the Brazilian climate they believe that the Anglo-Saxon is destined to become the dominant race.

The success of this omphalism, this government from the centre, will be brought about, in the Western belief, by the necessity under which the natives on the head waters of all streams will find themselves of having the outlets in their hands. Even if it be true that railways are beating rivers, still the railways must also lead seaward to the ports, and the need for their control is still felt by the producers in the centre countries of the continent. The Upper States must everywhere command the Lower, and salt-water despotism find its end.

The Americans of the Valley States, who fought all the more heartily in the Federal cause from the fact that they were battling for the freedom of the Mississippi against the men who held its mouth, look forward to the time when they will have to assert, peaceably but with firmness, their right to the freedom of their railways through the North Atlantic States. Whatever their respect for New England, it cannot be expected that they are forever to permit Illinois and Ohio to be neutralized in the Senate by Rhode Island and Vermont. If it go hard with New England, it will go still harder with New York, and the Western men look forward to the day when Washington will be removed, Congress and all, to Columbus or Fort Riley.

The singular wideness of Western thought, always verging on extravagance, is traceable to the width of Western land. The immensity of the continent produces a kind of intoxication; there is moral dram-drinking in the contemplation of the map. No Fourth of July oration can come up to the plain facts contained in the land commissioner's report. The public domain of the United States still consists of one thousand five hundred millions

of acres; there are two hundred thousand square miles of coal-lands in the country, ten times as much as in all the remaining world. In the Western Territories not yet States, there is land sufficient to bear, at the English population rate, five hundred and fifty millions of human beings.

It is strange to see how the Western country dwarfs the Eastern States. Buffalo is called a "Western city"; yet from New York to Buffalo is only three hundred and fifty miles, and Buffalo is but seven hundred miles to the west of the most eastern point in all the United States. On the other hand, from Buffalo we can go two thousand five hundred miles westward without quitting the United States. "The West" is eight times as wide as the Atlantic States, and will soon be eight times as strong.

The conformation of North America is widely different to that of any other continent on the globe. In Europe the glaciers of the Alps occupy the centre point, and shed the waters toward each of the surrounding seas; confluence is almost unknown. So it is in Asia; there the Indus flowing into the Arabian Gulf, the Oxus into the Sea of Aral, the Ganges into the Bay of Bengal, the Yangtse Kiang into the Pacific, and the Yenesei into the Arctic Ocean, all take their rise in the central table-land. In South America the mountains form a wall upon the West, whence the rivers flow eastward in parallel lines. In North America alone are there mountains on each coast, and a trough between, into which the rivers flow together, giving in a single valley twenty-three thousand miles of navigable stream to be plowed by steamships. The map proclaims the essential unity of North America. Political geography might be a more interesting study than it has yet been made.

JOHN A. DIX

(1798–1879)

JOHN A. DIX was born at Boscawen, New Hampshire, July 24th, 1798, and educated partly in the schools of his native State and partly in a French college at Montreal. He served in the War of 1812, and returning was admitted to the bar of New York. Becoming interested in politics he held various State offices until 1845, when he was elected to the United States Senate, where he served four years. He was Postmaster of New York city and Secretary of the Treasury under President Buchanan. In 1861 he became a Major-General of volunteers, and afterwards served with the same rank in the regular army. From 1866 to 1869 he was Minister to France, and from 1873 to 1875 Governor of New York. He died in New York city, April 21st, 1879. While he is more noted as a soldier and man of affairs than as a speaker, some passages from his addresses have become celebrated. Among the most often quoted is that on the Influence of Christianity on Politics, here reproduced from 'Munn's American Orator' (Boston 1853).

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

THE influence of Christianity upon the political condition of mankind, though silent and almost imperceptible, has doubtless been one of the most powerful instruments of its amelioration. The principles and the practical rules of conduct which it prescribes; the doctrine of the natural equality of men, of a common origin, a common responsibility, and a common fate; the lessons of humility, gentleness, and forbearance, which it teaches, are as much at war with political as they are with all moral injustice, oppression, and wrong. During century after century, excepting for brief intervals, the world too often saw the beauty of the system marred by the fiercest intolerance and the grossest depravity. It has been made the confederate of monarchs in carrying out schemes of oppression and fraud. Under its banner armed multitudes have been banded together and

led on by martial prelates to wars of desolation and revenge. Perpetrators of the blackest crimes have purchased from its chief ministers a mercenary immunity from punishment.

But nearly two thousand years have passed away, and no trace is left of the millions who, under the influence of bad passions, have dishonored its holy precepts, or of the far smaller number who, in seasons of general depravation, have drunk its current of living water on the solitary mountain or in the hollow rock. Its simple maxims, outliving them all, are silently working out a greater revolution than any which the world has seen; and long as the period may seem since its doctrines were first announced, it is almost imperceptible when regarded as one of the divisions of that time which is of endless duration. To use the language of an eloquent and philosophical writer: —

"The movements of Providence are not restricted to narrow bounds; it is not anxious to deduce to-day the consequences of the premises it laid down yesterday, It may defer this for ages, till the fullness of time shall come. Its logic will not be less conclusive for reasoning slowly. Providence moves through time as the gods of Homer through space; it makes a step, and years have rolled away. How long a time, how many circumstances, intervened before the regeneration of the moral powers of man by Christianity exercised its great, its legitimate function upon his social condition! Yet who can doubt or mistake its power?"

ALBERT B. DOD

(1805–1845)

ALBERT B. DOD was born at Medham, New Jersey, March 24th, 1805. A graduate of Princeton University, he was identified with it during the whole of his brilliant career. Graduating a doctor of divinity he filled the chair of mathematics at Princeton, lectured on architecture, political economy, and other subjects, and contributed to the reviews, besides preaching sermons which are ranked as pulpit classics. He died November 20th, 1845, at the height of his usefulness. "As a teacher," writes one of his biographers, "the genius of Professor Dod enkindled the enthusiasm of all who came under his instructions, and made him eminent in his profession. As a champion for the truth, he was earnest, able, and successful. He appeared before the public much more frequently as a literary and scientific man than as a preacher. But when speaking from the pulpit he never failed to command the most marked attention and fix deep in the mind the truth under discussion."

THE VALUE OF TRUTH

(From a Sermon on the Responsibility of Man for His Beliefs)

IT IS evident that the happiness of man was intended to be derived chiefly from his own internal dispositions. External circumstances are but secondary and inferior sources of enjoyment or suffering. In the heart itself is hid the secret fountain which refreshes or saddens us with its sweet or bitter waters. We can conceive of a heart so filled with pure affections, so informed with knowledge and strengthened by love, so thoroughly fortified by acquiescence —

> "In the will Supreme
> For time and for eternity; by Faith,
> Faith absolute in God, including Hope,"

and the defense that lies in boundless love of his perfections, that the darts of anguish, though they may strike upon that

heart and wound it, cannot fix or rankle there. Upon the ruin of all its expectations such a heart may gaze with subdued calmness; through all the disasters of life it may pass untroubled, or at least,

> "With only such degree of sadness left,
> As may support longings of pure desire
> And strengthen love, rejoicing secretly,
> In the sublime attractions of the grave."

So, too, we can conceive of a heart so weak that it can withstand the presence of no external evil — so ignorant that, in the blank and solitude of things, it is robbed of all enjoyment — so depraved that in the midst of all external advantages it is preyed upon by hatred, malice, envy, and all disturbing passions; it is within the compass of moral excellence to produce the one of these states — and the other does not transcend the capabilities of vice. The obvious tendency of virtue, in whatever degree it be cultivated, is to produce happiness; and vice, by an equally obvious and indissoluble connection, is the parent of misery. The man who disobeys his reason, or violates his conscience, in his search after happiness, grasps at a good at the expense of the very appetite which is to relish it. To injure his moral nature is to waste and wear away his only capability of happiness. If we take the constitution of man to pieces, as we would a watch or other piece of mechanism, to ascertain the object for which it was constructed, we see evident marks in every part that virtue was the end for which its Maker designed it. And if we then inquire further how this end is to be gained, that is, how men are to become virtuous, we find equally strong reasons for concluding that it can only be through a belief of the truth. The essence of virtue consists in its principle; and every moral principle has its root in truth. Error may be productive of some partial and transient good, as when a crying child is stilled, or a refractory one frightened into obedience, by a belief in some nursery fiction; but no one doubts that this trivial good is purchased at a lamentable sacrifice. Every honest man knows that whenever he uses deception and falsehood to promote even a good end, he is sacrificing the law of reason to the dictates of a low and short-sighted policy, and that he gains his end only as he would gain the sword which he should purchase with the loss of the arm that is to wield it. Truth is the

only agency by which a principle of good can be implanted and nourished in our own hearts, or in others. It is as inseparable from virtue as virtue itself is from happiness. In all our modes of education and our attempts to improve the character of individuals or communities, we proceed upon this principle. We never think of working a permanent good in any other way than by instilling the truth; nor do we ever dream that error would answer our purpose equally well, if we could only succeed in making it pass for truth. Any man would spurn the shameless effrontery of the scorner who should tell him that the good of society and of its individual members would be equally well promoted by teaching them to lie and steal and murder, provided we could only persuade them that these things were right. That men can be elevated in their moral character, or in any way benefited by being taught to receive error as truth, is as monstrous an absurdity and as palpable a contradiction to all the lessons of experience as can be conceived. Man is so made as to be swayed to good only by the truth. His moral nature can not respond to any other influence.

JOHN DONNE

(1573–1631)

JOHN DONNE, poet and preacher, "carried some of his hearers to heaven in holy raptures and enticed others by a sacred art and persuasiveness to amend their lives." Born in London in 1573, he was educated at Oxford first and afterwards at Cambridge. Appointed chaplain in ordinary to James I., he became a royal favorite, perhaps more for his poetry than for his sermons, though both have been much admired. His theological indorsers decline to give their unqualified approval to his verse, which they say is "tainted by the vice of his age," but he retains, nevertheless, the reputation of sincere piety, profound learning, and wonderful persuasiveness as a pulpit orator. He died March 1st, 1631, like the "sated guest" of Horace, his last words being "I were miserable if I could not die."

MAN IMMORTAL, BODY AND SOUL

(From a Sermon on the Resurrection)

TO CONSTITUTE a man there must be a body as well as a soul. Nay, the immortality of the soul will not so well lie in proof, without a resuming of the body. For, upon those words of the Apostle, "If there were no resurrection we were the miserablest of all men," the school reasons reasonably: naturally the soul and body are united; when they are separated by death, it is contrary to nature, which nature still affects this union; and consequently the soul is the less perfect for this separation: and it is not likely that the perfect natural state of the soul, which is to be united to the body, should last but three or four score years, and in most much less, and the unperfect state, this is, the separation, should last eternally, forever: so that either the body must be believed to live again, or the soul believed to die.

Never, therefore, dispute against thine own happiness; never say, God asks the heart, that is, the soul, and therefore rewards the soul, or punishes the soul, and hath no respect to the body.

Says Tertullian: "Never go about to separate the thoughts of the heart from the college, from the fellowship of the body; all that the soul does, it does in, and with, and by the body." And therefore, says he also, the body is washed in baptism, but it is that the soul might be made clean; in all unctions, whether that which was then in use in baptism, or that which was in use at our transmigration and passage out of this world, the body was anointed that the soul might be consecrated. Says Tertullian still, the body is signed with the cross, that the soul might be armed against temptations; and again, "My body received the body of Christ, that my soul might partake of his merits." He extends it into many particulars, and sums up all thus, "These two, body and soul, cannot be separated forever, which, while they are together, concur in all that either of them do." "Never think it presumption," says St. Gregory, "to hope for that in thyself which God admitted when he took thy nature upon him." "And God hath made it," says he, "more easy than so for thee to believe it, because not only Christ himself, but such men as thou art did rise at the resurrection of Christ." And therefore when our bodies are dissolved and liquefied in the sea, putrefied in the earth, resolved to ashes in the fire, macerated in the air, make account that all the world is God's cabinet, and water, and earth, and fire, and air, are the proper boxes in which God lays up our bodies for the resurrection. Curiously to dispute against our own resurrection is seditiously to dispute against the dominion of Jesus, who is not made Lord by the resurrection, if he have no subjects to follow him in the same way. We believe him to be Lord, therefore let us believe his and our resurrection.

This blessed day, which we celebrate now, he rose; he rose so as none before did, none after ever shall rise; he rose, others are but raised. "Destroy this temple," says he, "and I will raise it"; I, without employing any other architect. "I lay down my life," says he; the Jews could not have killed him when he was alive; if he were alive here now, the Jesuits could not kill him except his being made Christ and Lord, an anointed King, have made him more open to them. "I have power to lay it down," says he, "and I have power to take it up again."

This day we celebrate his resurrection; this day let us celebrate our own. . . . Fulfill, therefore, that which Christ says, "The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." Be this

that hour, be this thy first resurrection. Bless God's present goodness for this now, and attend God's leisure for the other resurrection hereafter. He that is "the first fruits of them that slept," Christ Jesus is awake; he dies no more, he sleeps no more. He offered a sacrifice for thee, but he had that from thee that he offered for thee; he was the first fruits, but the first fruits of thy corn; doubt not of having that in the whole crop which thou hast already in thy first fruits; that is, to have that in thyself which thou hast in thy Savior. And what glory soever thou hast had in this world, glory inherited from noble ancestors, glory acquired by merit and service, glory purchased by money and observation, what glory of beauty and proportion, what glory of health and strength soever thou hast had in this house of clay, "the glory of the latter house shall be greater than that of the former." To this glory, the God of this glory, by glorious or inglorious ways, such as may most advance his own glory, bring us in his time, for his Son Christ Jesus's sake. Amen.

JAMES R. DOOLITTLE

(1815–1897)

JAMES R. DOOLITTLE was one of the Northwestern Republicans who helped to decide the issues of 1860–61 for war, and of 1866–70 for reconciliation with the South. They held with Stephen A. Douglas that the South had constitutional rights which ought to be respected, but that these rights were not to be considered at all as against the political unity of the Mississippi Valley. Senator Doolittle represented what this element considered the logic of the situation in declaring that "by every law, human and divine, the same national jurisdiction and the same flag should and must govern the lower and the upper Mississippi."

Born at Hampton, New York, in 1815, Mr. Doolittle graduated at Geneva (now Hobart) College and removed to Wisconsin (1851) where he was elected judge of the first judicial circuit and in 1856 United States Senator. He remained in the Senate from 1857 to 1869, and was one of the readiest and strongest speakers in it. He was a member of the peace convention of 1861 and opposed all compromises with the South, but as soon as the war was over, he advocated all compromise measures, led the Northwest in the Greeley movement, and made one of the most effective speeches in the Democratic convention which nominated Samuel J. Tilden. He died July 27th, 1897.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE WEST IN THE CIVIL WAR

(From a Speech Delivered in the United States Senate, February 24th, 1862, Against Admitting Benjamin Stark as Senator from Oregon)

MR. STARK appears with a record under the seal of the State of Oregon, giving him *prima facie* a right to a seat; he is conceded to have the requisite age, residence, and citizenship; but several of his constituents, said to be respectable citizens, charge that he is an open and avowed secessionist, and that the Governor who appointed him is a secessionist; and they have forwarded their memorials to this body, accompanied by *ex parte* statements upon oath to show that he has on various

occasions declared that if there were to be war he would go and help the South to fight; that Davis was fighting in a good cause; that on occasions he has expressed sympathy with secessionists; and on one occasion, on hearing of the news of the repulse of the Union forces at Bull Run, he drank a toast to Beauregard, as a witness believed. To all these charges he replies, in substance, that they are made by his bitter political opponents, and that in many important particulars the declarations of his assailants are false, without specifying wherein. . . .

If I understand this matter, he not only, as it would appear from the declaration of witnesses, has advocated the doctrine that States may constitutionally secede from the Union; but in this letter he declared that nine States then, on the fifth of June, 1861, had already seceded; that our jurisdiction over them had ceased; and, in substance, that we could only get back our jurisdiction over those States by some negotiation. The nine States referred to are, I suppose, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Now, he avows his loyalty and offers to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States. Loyalty to what? What does he mean by the Constitution of the United States? What does he mean by the United States? Does he mean to embrace all the States, or only such as Jefferson Davis and his confederates have left us, only such as they have not usurped to govern by military depotism? Does the flag he is willing to support bear for him only twenty-five stars, or is it still full high advanced, bearing upon its ample folds thirty-four stars — a star for every State? When he raises his hand before Almighty God, and swears to support the Federal Constitution, does he mean to support that Constitution and its supremacy over Florida and Louisiana as well as over Oregon — at Pensacola and at New Orleans, as well as at the mouth of the Columbia?

We purchased Florida, gave $5,000,000 to get rid of a foreign power between us and the Gulf of Mexico, and we have expended $40,000,000 to conquer and remove the Seminoles. Does he mean to assert the national jurisdiction there? We purchased Louisiana of France, giving $15,000,000 to get control of the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico. Jefferson made the purchase because he knew that if the mouth of that river were held by a foreign power, it would be our eternal enemy. In

swearing to support the Constitution, does he mean to assert and maintain its authority at New Orleans and to the mouth of the Mississippi River? Does the lower valley of that river belong to the United States, whose Constitution he will swear to support, or does it belong to some foreign government? That is the question.

I speak earnestly, because I feel deeply on this question. I belong to the great West. We know and feel the interests and the necessities of our position. It is not only because our instincts for empire are strong, and because our men are hardy and brave, that we go into this struggle so earnestly. It is because we know the grand design of this infernal conspiracy, so long plotting the destruction of the Union, was first to set up a military despotism over the States of the Gulf and on the lower Mississippi; second, to compel the border slave States to join them; and, third, by appealing to the Buchanan Democracy of Pennsylvania, and offering to make that State their manufacturing State, to persuade her to join them according to what was believed to be a pledge given by a Pennsylvanian in the convention which nominated Buchanan in 1856. The traitors believed they could accomplish all this, and then the great West would be cut off from the East and from the South at the same time, and by the same conspiracy, and be compelled to submit to their dictation.

Sir, I repeat, we know our interests and our necessities. It is not that our sons are any braver or our instincts for freedom any stronger, that they go so earnestly into this struggle. They know it is for existence. It is for them like a death struggle. They know that by every law, human or divine, the same national jurisdiction and the same flag should govern and must govern the lower and the upper Mississippi — the flag of liberty and Union, or the flag of rebellion and despotism. There is and there can be no neutrality or compromise. The one or the other must prevail. We believe that justice, law, reason, and constitutional liberty itself are all staked upon the issue of the struggle. We go into it, therefore, with all the power and energy which God has given us.

IN FAVOR OF RE-UNION

(From a Speech Delivered in the National Democratic Convention — St. Louis, June 28th, 1876)

I BELIEVE, as much as I believe in my existence, that if ever a great responsibility rested upon a convention, it rests upon this convention now and here. That responsibility is to take such measures, to lay down such a platform, and to put upon it such candidates as will make our success certain in the overthrow of the party in power.

This party in power is a great and powerful party. Do not let us deceive ourselves by supposing that it is weak. I know that party. I have known it long and well. I have fought with it, and I have fought against it. I know it inside and out, through and through, and I tell you, gentlemen, that that party for the last fifteen years has been a war party, imbued with the spirit, accustomed to use the methods and practices which surround military encampments, not only during the war, but after the war had ended, in the reconstruction of the South. Guided by that spirit, this party in power, after the war had closed,—three years after the war had closed, almost,—I saw them take, in the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives, such action and such proceedings as could only be justified by military ideas, acting not as civilians in the administration of law, but as the leaders of military forces in the organization of the States of the South, in order to gain an unlimited control of both houses of Congress by a two-thirds' majority, which could overrule the veto of the President. I saw in the Senate of the United States, by the domination and despotic exercise of this power, a gentleman upon the floor of this convention was driven from the Senate (I refer to Mr. Stockton of New Jersey), and in order to get the vote which was necessary to obtain that two-thirds majority and accomplish that purpose, I saw one Senator, who from the committee reported in favor of Mr. Stockton, break his pair with the colleague of the Senator from New Jersey, confined by sickness at home.

By that act of revolution against law and all the usages of the Senate, they usurped that two-thirds majority which has ruled this country with military and despotic power from that day to the present moment. Having acquired this two-thirds

majority in both houses, trampling under its feet all the pledges it made, and by which it obtained its lease of power, I saw that party trample the Constitution under its feet. I saw them pass military reconstruction acts by which ten States in this Union and ten millions of people were robbed of every civil right of liberty and property, and I saw them subjected to the absolute unqualified domination of military dictators in time of peace.

You remember with what despotic and unrelenting power it undertook to depose the President and put in his place a man who would be more pliable to execute the behests of this despotic power at Washington. You know, too, how they persecuted those Senators who preferred to obey their oaths rather than obey the behests of this party. You saw, gentlemen, that same party by telegraphic decrees entering with the regular army State legislatures and organizing them against the law of the people. [Applause.] But I will not dwell on these things. I have said this only for the purpose of making one further remark — that is, that if any man in this country supposes that because this party lately at Cincinnati, instead of putting forward its great recognized leaders, have put forward Mr. Hayes, of Ohio, and Mr. Wheeler, of New York, — who are very respectable gentlemen in the States where they live, but are not much known elsewhere, — that this party has changed its spirit, its genius, its ambitions, its despotic centralizing tendencies, he is utterly mistaken. That party which could crush Trumbull and Schurz and Henderson, and even Sumner when he would not obey its behests, will take Hayes and Wheeler in its hands like things of wax. They cannot resist nor refuse to obey what that party shall decree. Therefore the responsibility rests upon you, gentlemen, and upon me, in our action here, to put forward such a platform and such candidates that we can wrest this Government from the hands of despotism and centralization and extravagance and corruption, such as makes the heart sick — corruption such as is our shame abroad and our disgrace and humiliation at home.

I say, gentlemen, if we would do it, we must act here wisely, not in the heat of passion. We must look beyond this chamber, and all the heat and excitement of the present hour; we must look beyond the excited crowds at the Lindell, the Southern, and other hotels in this city. We must look to the great field where the battle is to be fought and lost or won. As I said in the beginning, gentlemen, I have been laboring hard to keep myself

cool, both inside and out, in order that if I have any judgment to give, any opinion to express, or any advice to offer upon this great and important question, it may come as the opinion and advice and suggestion of a brain that is cool and a breast that is excited with nothing but love for the Union and love for the country. [Cheers.] Gentlemen, let me say, in my brief period in public affairs,—and not so very brief, either, for this is the tenth presidential canvass in which I have taken and am to take an active part [Applause],—I have learned—and learned what I did not know in the beginning—that when conventions assemble in great numbers, and the friends of candidates are excited, they believe for the moment, when the result is announced, that the victory is already won. I have sadly found myself mistaken when we came to the field of battle. Four times, fellow-citizens, four times have I attended a convention since the close of the war—conventions which had the same purpose and spirit which we now have—I mean to restore the Union of the States upon the platform of fraternity, liberty, and equality to all the States and to all the citizens of the States, to restore that Union, not only the Union which we established by our conquering, but to establish that Union in our heart of hearts [Applause], away down deep in all the affections and interests and aspirations of the whole people, North and South, black and white. Well do I remember the first at Philadelphia in 1866. I recognize here many familiar faces which met me there on that great occasion. They came together at Philadelphia ten years ago, from all the States of the Union. It was the first reunion after the Civil War. They came to shake hands together literally over the "bloody chasm," and when their united thanks went up to Almighty God that the war was over, that peace had come, that no more sons and fathers and brothers were to go down to battle and to death, that sweet peace had come, and come to stay [Cheers], there was a joy in that convention unutterable. Ten thousand men and women—strong men—in that convention, filled with an exultation which words could not express, gave way to every demonstration of joy. They wept, they embraced, and then, recovering themselves, they cheered and shouted—such cheers and shouts as go up from conquering armies when great fields are won. [Cheers.] But, fellow-citizens, though the object with which we met, the ideas to which we gave utterance, the platform we adopted, and all that was done to restore the

former — and let me say to you in a single word, we failed in my opinion because at the city of New York we did not properly organize the forces for the victory. [Applause.] So badly was the Democratic party beaten in 1868 that in 1872, as if by unanimous consent, they gave out their word to the Liberal Republicans, — such Senators as Trumbull, Schurz, and others, — that if they would take the lead, if they would lay down a platform consistent with the constitutional views entertained by the great Democratic party and put candidates upon it, that party pledged its honor that, when assembled in convention, it would indorse and sustain them and aid them in the contest. You remember how well that pledge was kept, and I say to the Liberal Republicans, if there are any within the sound of my voice, or if anything that I say here shall reach them elsewhere — I say to the Liberal Republicans, and to all the Liberal Republicans, that they have been placed under a debt and obligation of gratitude to the Democratic party [Cheers] that they ought never to forget, and which they can never so well repay as by uniting with the Democratic party now in the coming contest. [Cheers.]

THE EARL OF DORSET

(1591–1652)

THE age of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Raleigh, of Cromwell, Hampden, and Milton, is one of the most extraordinary in history—the most remarkable in the history of England, and, excepting only the revolutionary periods of France and America, the most significant in modern times. It has not yet been explained scientifically, and it may not be for another century to come. But when it is explained, such speeches as that made by the Earl of Dorset against Prynne will be understood as indexes of the times and arguments of the future. In the eloquence of his denunciation of Prynne, in his biting sarcasm, in the delicacy of the irony with which he works his way towards his climax—a climax in which, as one of the lords of the Star Chamber, he announced his vote in favor of branding Prynne in the forehead, cropping his ears, and slitting his nose, Dorset stood for everything which sent Charles I. to the block, as Prynne, for the time being at least, represented fully all the forces of reaction against the æstheticism and tyrannical spirit of the court.

There is no question of the corruption against which Prynne protested in his 'Histrio-Mastix, or a Scourge for Stage-Players,' but the corruption of the stage was only an incident of that general loss of moral sense among the governing classes which in its reactions forced Puritanism among those who, while they were making intellectual and moral progress, were as yet but at the beginning of both. Dorset stands for the highest culture of the court. He was one of the literary Sackvilles, æsthetes who were shocked by the vulgarity and bad taste of such Puritans as Prynne. Cromwell himself from their standpoint was a mere vulgarian, and Dorset would undoubtedly have voted to pillory him and slit his nose had he stood in Prynne's place. But it was only a few years until reaction against all that Dorset stood for had produced Milton and Cromwell. It is always so in history for those who having taken the coat demand the cloak also. Had not Prynne's ears been cropped in the pillory, there might never have been a Milton or a Cromwell. Yet it is said that Milton's contempt for Prynne was as great as that of Dorset, and that he sneered at him for the marks of his martyrdom.

IN FAVOR OF SLITTING PRYNNE'S NOSE

(Delivered in the Star Chamber in February 1634, against William Prynne, for Writing and Publishing 'Histrio-Mastix, or a Scourge for Stage-Players')

SUCH swarms of murmurers as this day disclose themselves — are they not fearful symptoms of this sick and diseased time? Ought we not rather with more justice and fear apprehend those heavy judgments which this minor prophet Prynne hath denounced against this land for tolerating different things, to fall upon us for suffering them, like those mutineers against Moses and Aaron, as not fit to breathe? My lords, it is high time to make a lustration to purge the air. And will justice ever bring a more fit oblation than this Achan? Adam, in the beginning, put names on creatures correspondent to their natures. The title he hath given this book is "Histrio-Mastix," or, rather, as Mr. Secretary Cook observed, "Anthropo-mastix"; but that comes not home; it deserves a far higher title — "Damnation," in plain English, of prince, prelacy, peers, and people. Never did Pope in Cathedra, assisted with the spirit of infallibility, more positively and more peremptorily condemn heretics and heresy than this doth mankind. Lest any partial auditor may think me transported with passion, to judge of the base liveries he bestoweth upon court and courtiers, I shall do that which a judge ought to do, *viz.*, assist the prisoner at the bar. Give me leave to remember what Mr. Attorney let fall the other day. — I will take hold of it for the gentleman's advantage, — that this gentleman had no mission; if he had had a mission it would have qualified the offense. Our blessed Savior, when he conversed in this world, chose Apostles whom he sent after him into the world, saying: "*Ite, prædicate*," to show the way of salvation to mankind. Faith, hope, and charity were the steps of this Jacob's ladder to ascend heaven by. The devil, who hates every man upon earth, played the divine, cited books, wrought miracles; and he will have his disciples, too, as he had his confessors and martyrs. My lords, this contempt, disloyalty, and despair are the ropes which this emissary lets down to his great master's kingdom for a general service. My lords, as the tenor of their commission was different, so are their ways. These holy men advanced their

cause in former times by meekness, humility, patience to bear with the weakness and infirmities of their brethren; they taught obedience to magistracy, even for conscience' sake; they divided not their estates into factions; they detracted from none; they sought the salvation of men's souls, and guided their bodies and affections answerably; they gave to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's; if princes were bad, they prayed for them; if good, they praised God for them; however, they bore with them. This was the doctrine of the primitive Church, and this they did. I appeal to my lords, they that have read this book, if Mr. Prynne has not, with breach of faith, discharged his great Master's end. My lords, when God had made all his works, he looked upon them and saw that they were good.

This gentleman, the devil having put spectacles on his nose, says that all is bad; no recreation, vocation, no condition good; neither sex, magistrate, ordinance, custom, divine and human, things animate, inanimate, all, my lords, wrapt up *in massa damnata*, all in the ditch of destruction. Here, my lords, we may observe the great prudence of this prince of darkness, a soul so fraught of malice, so void of humanity, that it gorgeth out all the filth, impiety, and iniquity that the discontent of this age doth contract against the State and Church. But it may be that some follower of his will say it was the pride and wickedness of the times that prompted him to this work, and set his zeal, through tenderness of conscience, to write this book. My lords, you may know an unclean bird by his feathers; let him be unplumed, unmasked, pull off the deceitful wizard, and see how he appeareth: this brittle-conscienced brother, that perhaps starts at the sight of the corner-cap, sweats at the surplus, swoons at the sign of the cross, and will rather die than put on woman's apparel to save his life; yet, he is so zealous for the advancement of his babel, that he invents legions, coins new statutes, corrupts and misapplies texts with false interpretations, dishonors all men, defames all women, equivocates lies! And yet this man is a holy man, a pillar of the Church! Do you, Mr. Prynne, find fault with the "court and courtiers' habit, silk and satin divines"? I may say of you, you are all purple within, all pride, malice, and all disloyalty. You are a tumbler, who is commonly squint-eyed; you look one way and run another way; though you seemed by the title of your book to scourge stage-plays, yet it

was to make people believe that there was an apostasy in the magistrates. But, my lords, admit all this to be venial and pardonable, this pigmy groweth a giant, and invades the gods themselves. Where we enjoy this felicity under a gracious prince, with so much advantage as to have the light of the Gospel, whilst others are kept in darkness, the happiness of the recreations to the health of the body, the blessed government we now have. When did ever Church so flourish, and State better prosper? And since the plagues happened, none have been sent among us such as this caterpillar is. What vein hath opened his anger? Or, who hath let out his fury? When did ever man see such a quietus as in these days? Yet in this golden age is there not a Shimei amongst us, that curseth the anointed of the Lord? So puffed with pride, now can the beams of the sun thaw his frozen heart, and this man appeareth yet. And now, my lords, pardon me, as he hath wounded his Majesty in his head, power, and government, and her Majesty, his Majesty's dear consort, our royal Queen, and my gracious mistress, I can spare him no longer, I am at his heart. Oh! *quantum!* If any cast infamous aspersions and censures on our Queen and her innocency, silence would prove impiety rather than ingratitude in me, that do daily contemplate her virtues; I will praise her for that which is her own; she drinks at the springhead, whilst others take up at the stream. I shall not alter the great truth that hath been said, with a heart as full of devotion, as a tongue of eloquence, the other day, as it came to his part [meaning Sir John Finch]. My lords, her own example to all virtues, the candor of her life, is a more powerful motive than all precepts, than the severest of laws; no hand of fortune nor of power can hurt her; her heart is full of honor, her soul of chastity; majesty, mildness, and meekness are so married together, and so impaled in her, that where the one begetteth admiration, the other love; her soul of that excellent temper, so harmoniously composed; her zeal in the ways of God unparalleled; her affections to her Lord so great, if she offend him it is no sunset in her anger; in all her actions and affections so elective and judicious, and a woman so constant for the redemption of all her sex from all imputations, which men (I know not how justly) sometimes lay on them; a princess, for the sweetness of her disposition, and for compassion, always relieving some oppressed

soul, or rewarding some deserving subject; were all such saints as she, I think the Roman Church were not to be condemned: on my conscience, she troubleth the ghostly father with nothing, but that she hath nothing to trouble him withal. And so when I have said all in her praise, I can never say enough of her excellency; in the relation whereof an orator cannot flatter, nor poet lie: yet is there not Doeg among us, notwithstanding all the tergiversations his counsel hath used at the bar? I can better prove that he meant the King and Queen by that infamous Nero, etc., than he proves players go to hell. But Mr. Prynne, your iniquity is full, it runs over, and judgment is come; it is not Mr. Attorney that calls for judgment against you, but it is all mankind; they are the parties grieved, and they call for judgment.

Mr. Prynne, I do declare you to be a schism maker in the Church, a sedition sower in the commonwealth, a wolf in sheep's clothing; in a word, *omnium malorum nequissimus.* I shall fine you ten thousand pounds sterling, which [addressing the other lords] is more than he is worth, yet less than he deserveth; I will not set him at liberty no more than a plagued man or a mad dog, who though he cannot bite, he will foam; he is so far from being a sociable soul that he is not a rational soul; he is fit to live in dens with such beasts of prey as wolves and tigers like himself. Therefore, I do condemn him to perpetual imprisonment as those monsters that are no longer fit to live among men, nor to see light. Now for corporal punishment, my lords, whether I should burn him in the forehead, or slit him in the nose? He that was guilty of murder was marked in a place where he might be seen, as Cain was. I should be loath he should escape with his ears, for he may get a periwig, which he now so much inveighs against, and so hide them, or force his conscience to make use of his unlovely love-locks on both sides. Therefore, I would have him branded in the forehead, slit in the nose, and his ears cropped too. My lords, I now come to this ordure; I can give no better term to it, to burn it, as it is common in other countries, or otherwise we shall bury Mr. Prynne and suffer his ghost to walk. I shall, therefore, concur to the burning of the book; but let there be a proclamation made, that whosoever shall keep any of the books in his hands and not bring them to some public magistrate to be burnt in the fire, let them fall under the

sentence of this court; for if they fell into wise men's hands, or good men's hands, that were no fear, but if among the common sort, and into weak men's hands, then tenderness of conscience will work something. Let this sentence be recorded, and let it be sent to the library of Sion [meaning a college in London], whither a woman, by her will, will allow Mr. Prynne's work to be sent.

[The sentence against Prynne was executed the seventh and tenth days of May following.]

DANIEL DOUGHERTY

(1826–1892)

DANIEL DOUGHERTY was for almost a generation one of the favorite orators of Philadelphia. He was a Democrat in politics and made the speech nominating Hancock, which fixed on him the title of "Hancock the Superb." He also put Cleveland in nomination at the St. Louis convention of 1888. He died September 5th, 1889. His reputation as an orator was national, but his speeches have never been collected, and as he did not attempt a congressional career, it is possible that he will become one more addition to the already long list of those who are praised as "silver-tongued" by their generation, without transmitting themselves adequately to posterity.

"HANCOCK THE SUPERB"

(Delivered in the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati, June 1880, Nominating Winfield Scott Hancock for the Presidency)

I PROPOSE to present to the thoughtful consideration of the convention the name of one who, though on the field of battle he was styled the "The Superb," won still nobler renown as a military governor, whose first act when in command of Louisiana and Texas was to salute the Constitution by proclaiming that military rule shall ever be subservient to the civil power. The plighted word of the soldier was made good by the acts of the statesman. I nominate one whose name, suppressing all factions, will be alike acceptable to the North and to the South — a name that will thrill the Republic; the name of a man who, if nominated, will crush the last embers of sectional strife — a man whose name will be hailed as the dawning of a day of perpetual brotherhood. With him we can fling away our shields, and wage an aggressive war. We can appeal to the supreme tribunal of the American people against the corruption of the Republican party and its untold violations of constitutional liberty. With him as our chieftain, the bloody banner of the

Republicans will fall from their palsied grasp. Oh, my countrymen, in this supreme moment the destinies of the Republic are at stake and the liberties of the people are imperiled. The people hang breathless on your deliberation. Take heed! Make no misstep! I nominate one who can carry every Southern State, and who can carry Pennsylvania, Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York — the soldier statesman, with a record as stainless as his sword, Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania. If elected, he will take his seat.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS

(1817–1895)

FREDERICK DOUGLAS gained prominence at a time when it was still supposed by many that any considerable infusion of African blood would prevent intellectual development. It might be inferred, therefore, that his reputation as an orator gained under such circumstances is due in part to the false idea that he was a prodigy rather than to the merits of his oratory. If this be true, it is not largely true, for in such speeches as his 'Plea for Free Speech,' in Boston, he shows not merely deep feeling, but ability to master it completely; to give it sustained, connected, and calm expression, and in his climax to exhibit himself, not as the special advocate of a race, but as the champion of humanity. He was born in Maryland in 1817. His father was a white man, but his mother was a negro slave, and, following the condition of his mother, he was a slave also. He escaped from his master in 1838, and in 1841 made a speech before the Antislavery Society of Massachusetts, at Nantucket, so eloquent that he was employed to lecture as the society's agent. He had learned to read while a slave, and at this period was a man of considerable education. Between 1850 and 1860 he was not in harmony with the Garrison abolitionists, and the paper he published at Rochester is frequently mentioned with disapproval in the Liberator. After the Civil War he held office as United States Marshal and Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, and as Minister to Hayti. He died February 20th, 1895.

A PLEA FOR FREE SPEECH IN BOSTON

(Delivered in Music Hall, Boston, in 1860 — Reported in the Liberator of December 4th, 1860)

BOSTON is a great city — and Music Hall has a fame almost as extensive as that of Boston. Nowhere more than here have the principles of human freedom been expounded. But for the circumstances already mentioned, it would seem almost presumption for me to say anything here about those

principles. And yet, even here, in Boston, the moral atmosphere is dark and heavy. The principles of human liberty, even if correctly apprehended, find but limited support in this hour of trial. The world moves slowly, and Boston is much like the world. We thought the principle of free speech was an accomplished fact. Here, if nowhere else, we thought the right of the people to assemble and to express their opinion was secure. Dr. Channing had defended the right, Mr. Garrison had practically asserted the right, and Theodore Parker had maintained it with steadiness and fidelity to the last.

But here we are to-day contending for what we thought was gained years ago. The mortifying and disgraceful fact stares us in the face, that though Faneuil Hall and Bunker Hill Monument stand, freedom of speech is struck down. No lengthy detail of facts is needed. They are already notorious; far more so than will be wished ten years hence.

The world knows that last Monday a meeting assembled to discuss the question: "How Shall Slavery Be Abolished?" The world also knows that that meeting was invaded, insulted, captured, by a mob of gentlemen, and thereafter broken up and dispersed by the order of the mayor, who refused to protect it, though called upon to do so. If this had been a mere outbreak of passion and prejudice among the baser sort, maddened by rum and hounded on by some wily politician to serve some immediate purpose,— a mere exceptional affair,— it might be allowed to rest with what has already been said. But the leaders of the mob were gentlemen. They were men who pride themselves upon their respect for law and order.

These gentlemen brought their respect for the law with them and proclaimed it loudly while in the very act of breaking the law. Theirs was the law of slavery. The law of free speech and the law for the protection of public meetings they trampled under foot, while they greatly magnified the law of slavery.

The scene was an instructive one. Men seldom see such a blending of the gentleman with the rowdy, as was shown on that occasion. It proved that human nature is very much the same, whether in tarpaulin or broadcloth. Nevertheless, when gentlemen approach us in the character of lawless and abandoned loafers,— assuming for the moment their manners and tempers,— they have themselves to blame if they are estimated below their quality.

No right was deemed by the fathers of the Government more sacred than the right of speech. It was in their eyes, as in the eyes of all thoughtful men, the great moral renovator of society and government. Daniel Webster called it a homebred right, a fireside privilege. Liberty is meaningless where the right to utter one's thoughts and opinions has ceased to exist. That, of all rights, is the dread of tyrants. It is the right which they first of all strike down. They know its power. Thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, founded in injustice and wrong, are sure to tremble, if men are allowed to reason of righteousness, temperance, and of a judgment to come in their presence. Slavery cannot tolerate free speech. Five years of its exercise would banish the auction block and break every chain in the South. They will have none of it there, for they have the power. But shall it be so here?

Even here in Boston, and among the friends of freedom, we hear two voices: one denouncing the mob that broke up our meeting on Monday as a base and cowardly outrage; and another, deprecating and regretting the holding of such a meeting, by such men, at such a time. We are told that the meeting was ill-timed, and the parties to it unwise.

Why, what is the matter with us? Are we going to palliate and excuse a palpable and flagrant outrage on the right of speech, by implying that only a particular description of persons should exercise that right? Are we, at such a time, when a great principle has been struck down, to quench the moral indignation which the deed excites, by casting reflections upon those on whose persons the outrage has been committed? After all the arguments for liberty to which Boston has listened for more than a quarter of a century, has she yet to learn that the time to assert a right is the time when the right itself is called in question, and that the men of all others to assert it are the men to whom the right has been denied?

It would be no vindication of the right of speech to prove that certain gentlemen of great distinction, eminent for their learning and ability, are allowed to freely express their opinions on all subjects — including the subject of slavery. Such a vindication would need, itself, to be vindicated. It would add insult to injury. Not even an old-fashioned abolition meeting could vindicate that right in Boston just now. There can be no right of speech where any man, however lifted up, or however humble,

however young, or however old, is overawed by force, and compelled to suppress his honest sentiments.

Equally clear is the right to hear. To suppress free speech is a double wrong. It violates the rights of the hearer as well as those of the speaker. It is just as criminal to rob a man of his right to speak and hear as it would be to rob him of his money. I have no doubt that Boston will vindicate this right. But in order to do so, there must be no concessions to the enemy. When a man is allowed to speak because he is rich and powerful, it aggravates the crime of denying the right to the poor and humble.

The principle must rest upon its own proper basis. And until the right is accorded to the humblest as freely as to the most exalted citizen, the government of Boston is but an empty name, and its freedom a mockery. A man's right to speak does not depend upon where he was born or upon his color. The simple quality of manhood is the solid basis of the right — and there let it rest forever.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

(1813–1861)

HENRY CLAY hoped he might never live to see the Civil War, and died seeing it inevitable. Stephen A. Douglas, who attempted to take his place as a pacificator, lived to see it begin, and died, sternly determined to accept for himself and for all those he could influence the issues he had striven to avoid.

To go over the measures of home and foreign policy by which it was sought to postpone the crisis of the struggle for sectional supremacy will never be a pleasant duty, and it is only necessary to point out here that as Clay stood for the traditional foreign policy of Washington and Jefferson,—the maintenance of our "splendid isolation" and the development of the nation from within,—Douglas stood for the distraction of attention from domestic affairs to expansion and aggressive advance abroad. When Clay's influence as the representative of what had been a "pivotal border State" waned after the fruitless Compromise of 1850, Douglas, as the representative of the growing power of the "border States" north of the Ohio, forced himself into leadership as the spokesman of "Young America" and of progressive ideas, which were interpreted by some of his followers to mean the conquest of the territory remaining to Mexico, the seizure of Cuba and the Central American States, and the annexation of Canada. These exuberances of the theory of "Manifest Destiny" Douglas repudiated, but for a time it was hoped by some that in the discussion of them there would be a cessation of the agitation for disunion, now carried on by both the Secessionists of the Gulf States and the terribly determined idealists of New England. Any one who reads now the burning words in which Wendell Phillips, under the promptings of a genius as fiery as that of Desmoulins and as stern as that of Danton, denounced "the league with death and the covenant with hell," will see how sadly futile was the hope that Douglas entertained—that Buchanan expressed in one of his messages at a time when civil war had virtually begun—the hope that any mere "policy" can change the logic of events or alter the reality of "manifest destiny" involved in the accumulation of moral and intellectual forces from generation to generation, from country to country, from age to age.

Douglas was hailed by enthusiastic thousands as a very great man. He will always be remembered as one of the leading actors in the

prologue of the greatest tragedy of American history. But the only verdict possible on his career as a whole is that he mistook the logic of history and so failed, in spite of his great powers, to control the logic of events.

He was a man of remarkable natural ability, hardly surpassed as a political debater, yet an unequal match for Lincoln, because of a lack of the subtlety which is the most characteristic of all Lincoln's qualities. In the great debate of 1858, Mr. Lincoln, by his knowledge of the underlying forces of politics, was able to force issues far more radically and effectively through the speeches of Mr. Douglas than through his own. Lincoln's masterly habit of self-suppression was hardly suspected at the time, and few then could have supposed that Douglas, accustomed to use language to express his thoughts, was matched against a greater politician than Talleyrand,—one who knew the last great secret of politics—that of going twain willingly with those who had compelled him to go an unwilling mile.

Born in Vermont and bred to the trade of a cabinet maker, Douglas removed to Illinois in his youth and educated himself to such advantage that after giving up his trade and being admitted to the bar, he soon became recognized as one of the most effective lawyers of the State. He was elected Judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1841. From 1843 to 1847 he served in the House of Representatives, and in the United States Senate from 1847 to 1861. He began to come into prominence just as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and Benton were yielding their places at the front. Lewis Cass had been discredited by defeat, and Douglas easily took his place as the Western leader and Presidential candidate of those Democrats who still hoped to postpone the issue against slavery. As the representative of these, Douglas appealed for the Presidency on a theory which his opponents called "squatter sovereignty"—the doctrine that the people of a territory had a right to decide for themselves in adopting their constitution, whether they would have slavery or any other institution not prohibited by the Federal Constitution. The logic of this position seemed to be irrefragable, but it left William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips out of consideration, and so in his last speeches, made in 1860 and 1861, Mr. Douglas declared against the extreme logic of "local self-government" and in favor of any force necessary to prevent the Gulf States from establishing a confederation to control the Lower Mississippi and the ports of the Gulf of Mexico. Without doubt, the "Douglas Democrats" of 1861 held the decisive balance of power, and it is hardly too much to say of him that, defeated and heartbroken, Douglas did no less to prevent the success of the Southern States in their attempt at secession than Mr. Lincoln himself.

W. V. B.

REPLY TO LINCOLN

(In the Joint Debate, at Freeport, Illinois, June 17th, 1858)

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

I AM glad that at last I have brought Mr. Lincoln to the conclusion that he had better define his position on certain political questions to which I called his attention at Ottawa. He there showed no disposition, no inclination, to answer them. I did not present idle questions for him to answer merely for my gratification. I laid the foundation for those interrogatories by showing that they constituted the platform of the party whose nominee he is for the Senate. I did not presume that I had the right to catechise him as I saw proper, unless I showed that his party, or a majority of it, stood upon the platform and were in favor of the propositions upon which my questions were based. I desired simply to know, inasmuch as he had been nominated as the first, last, and only choice of his party, whether he concurred in the platform which that party had adopted for its government. In a few moments I will proceed to review the answers which he has given to these interrogatories; but in order to relieve his anxiety, I will first respond to these which he has presented to me. Mark you, he has not presented interrogatories which have ever received the sanction of the party with which I am acting, and hence he has no other foundation for them than his own curiosity.

First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable, and ask admission into the Union as a State, before they have the requisite population for a Member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a free State, because she had not the requisite population for a Member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not consent, under any circumstances, to let a State, free or slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question,

and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that as she has population enough to constitute a slave State, she has people enough for a free State. I will not make Kansas an exceptionable case to the other States of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule of universal application to require a Territory to contain the requisite population for a Member of Congress before it is admitted as a State into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session in a bill providing that no Territory of the United States should form a constitution and apply for admission, until it had the requisite population. On another occasion I proposed that neither Kansas or any other territory should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception of Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a free State, with whatever population she may have, or the rule must be applied to all the other territories alike. I therefore answer at once, that it having been decided that Kansas has people enough for a slave State, I hold that she has enough for a free State. I hope Mr. Lincoln is satisfied with my answer; and now I would like to get his answer to his own interrogatory — whether or not he will vote to admit Kansas before she has the requisite population. I want to know whether he will vote to admit Oregon before that territory has the requisite population. Mr. Trumbull will not, and the same reason that commits Mr. Trumbull against the admission of Oregon commits him against Kansas, even if she should apply for admission as a free State. If there is any sincerity, any truth, in the argument of Mr. Trumbull in the Senate against the admission of Oregon, because she had not 93,420 people, although her population was larger than that of Kansas, he stands pledged against the admission of both Oregon and Kansas, until they have 93,420 inhabitants. I would like Mr. Lincoln to answer this question. I would like him to take his own medicine. If he differ with Mr. Trumbull, let him answer his argument against the admission of Oregon, instead of poking questions at me.

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is: Can the people of the territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their

limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska Bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution; the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska Bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

In this connection, I will notice the charge which he has introduced in relation to Mr. Chase's amendment. I thought that I had chased that amendment out of Mr. Lincoln's brain at Ottawa, but it seems that still haunts his imagination, and he is not yet satisfied. I had supposed that he would be ashamed to press that question further. He is a lawyer, and has been a Member of Congress, and has occupied his time and amused you by telling you about parliamentary proceeding. He ought to have known better than to try to palm off his miserable impositions upon this intelligent audience. The Nebraska Bill provided that the legislative power and authority of the said Territory should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the organic act and the Constitution of the United States. It did not make any exception as to slavery, but gave all the power that it was possible for Congress to give without violating the Constitution to the territorial legislature, with no exception or

limitation on the subject of slavery at all. The language of that bill which I have quoted gave the full power and the full authority over the subject of slavery, affirmatively and negatively, to introduce it or exclude it, so far as the Constitution of the United States would permit. What more could Mr. Chase give by his amendment? Nothing. He offered his amendment for the identical purpose for which Mr. Lincoln is using it, to enable demagogues in the country to try and deceive the people.

His amendment was to this effect. It provided that the legislature should have the power to exclude slavery; and General Cass suggested: "Why not give the power to introduce as well as exclude?" The answer was: "They have the power already in the bill to do both." Chase was afraid his amendment would be adopted if he put the alternative proposition, and so make it fair both ways, but would not yield. He offered it for the purpose of having it rejected. He offered it, as he has himself avowed over and over again, simply to make capital out of it for the stump. He expected that it would be capital for small politicians in the country, and that they would make an effort to deceive the people with it; and he was not mistaken, for Lincoln is carrying out the plan admirably. Lincoln knows that the Nebraska Bill, without Chase's amendment, gave all the power which the Constitution would permit. Could Congress confer any more? Could Congress go beyond the Constitution of the country? We gave all a full grant with no exception in regard to slavery one way or the other. We left that question, as we left all others, to be decided by the people for themselves, just as they pleased. I will not occupy my time on this question. I have argued it before all over Illinois. I have argued it in this beautiful city of Freeport; I have argued it in the North, the South, the East, and the West, avowing the same sentiments and the same principles. I have not been afraid to avow my sentiments up here for fear I would be trotted down into Egypt.

The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is: "If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits, will I submit to it?" I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. "A schoolboy knows better." Yes, a schoolboy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency,

who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the Washington Union, in an article published on the seventeenth of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The Union had claimed that slavery had a right to go into the free States, and that any provisions in the Constitution or laws of the Free States to the contrary were null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull and Seward and Hale and Wilson and the whole black Republican side of the Senate were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. And what was the reply made to me on that occasion? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of notice and ought not to have replied to it; that there was not one man, woman, or child south of the Potomac, in any slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made on the spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me: "Suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, would you sanction it?" and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisan feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act.

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is: "Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the slavery question?" This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly, that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you [addressing Mr. Lincoln] opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party he turns, Yankee

fashion, and, without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery; and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory, as they prefer. It is idle to tell me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi River, but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana Territory, from the west branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present, but this is a young and a growing nation. It swarms as often as a hive of bees; and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. In less than fifteen years, if the same progress that has distinguished this country for the last fifteen years continue, every foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific Ocean owned by the United States will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? I tell you, increase and multiply and expand is the law of this nation's existence. You cannot limit this great Republic by mere boundary lines, saying: "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve years old that he is big enough, and must not grow any larger, and in order to prevent his growth put a hoop around him to keep him to his present size. What would be the result? Either the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the child must die. So it would be with this great nation. With our natural increase, growing with a rapidity unknown in any other part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism in the Old World to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle; and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it, and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska Bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.

I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred Douglas, he will frame and propound others. ["Good, good!"] You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred Douglas is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as I am doing to-day, I saw a carriage, and a magnificent one it was, drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box-seat, whilst Fred Douglas and her mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. I saw this in your own town. ["What of it?"] All I have to say of it is this, that if you, Black Republicans, think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so. I am told that one of Fred Douglas's kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State making speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion of black men. ["What have you to say against it?"] All I have to say on that subject is, that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially, politically, and legally, have a right to entertain these opinions, and, of course, will vote for Mr. Lincoln.

«EXPANSION» AND CO-OPERATION WITH ENGLAND

(From the Debate in the Clayton Bulwer Treaty — United States Senate, March 14th, 1853)

I HAVE a word or two to say in reply to the remarks of the Senator from Delaware upon so much of my speech as related to the pledge in the Clayton and Bulwer Treaty, never to annex any portion of that country. I objected to that clause in the treaty, upon the ground that I was unwilling to enter into a treaty stipulation with any European powers, in respect to this continent, that we would not do, in the future, whatever our duty, interest, honor, and safety might require in the course of

events. The Senator infers that I desire to annex Central America, because I was unwilling to give a pledge that we never would do it. He reminded me that there was a clause in the treaty with Mexico containing the stipulation that in certain contingencies we would never annex any portion of Mexico. Sir, it was unnecessary that he should remind me of that provision. He has not forgotten how hard I struggled to get that clause out of the treaty where it was retained in opposition to my vote. Had the Senator given me his aid then to defeat that provision in the Mexican Treaty, I would be better satisfied now with his excuse for having inserted a still stronger pledge in his treaty. But having advocated that pledge then, he should not attempt to avoid the responsibility of his own act by citing that as a precedent. I was unwilling to bind ourselves by treaty for all time to come never to annex any more territory. I am content for the present with the territory we have. I do not wish to annex any portion of Mexico now. I did not wish to annex any part of Central America then, nor do I at this time.

But I cannot close my eyes to the history of this country for the last half century. Fifty years ago the question was being debated in this Senate whether it was wise or not to acquire any territory on the west bank of the Mississippi River, and it was then contended that we could never, with safety, extend beyond that river. It was at that time seriously considered whether the Alleghany Mountains should not be the barrier beyond which we should never pass. At a subsequent date, after we had acquired Louisiana and Florida, more liberal views began to prevail, and it was thought that perhaps we might venture to establish one tier of States west of the Mississippi; but in order to prevent the sad calamity of an undue expansion of our territory, the policy was adopted of establishing an Indian Territory, with titles in perpetuity, all along the western border of those States, so that no more new States could possibly be created in that direction. That barrier could not arrest the onward progress of our people. They burst through it, and passed the Rocky Mountains, and were only arrested by the waters of the Pacific. Who, then, is prepared to say that in the progress of events, having met with the barrier of the ocean in our western course, we may not be compelled to turn to the north and to the south for an outlet? How long is it since the gentleman from Delaware himself thought that a time would never arrive when we would want

California? I am aware that he was of that opinion at the time we ratified the treaty, and annexed it.

Mr. Clayton — How?

Mr. Douglas — By his voting for Mr. Crittenden's resolutions declaring that we did not want any portion of Mexican territory. You will find your vote in this volume which I hold in my hand. I am aware that he belonged to that school of politicians who thought we had territory enough. I have not forgotten that a respectable portion of this body but a few years ago thought it would be preposterous to bring a country so far distant as California, and so little known, into the Union. But it has been done, and now since California has become a member of the Confederacy, with her immense commerce and inexhaustible resources, we are told that the time will never come when the territory lying halfway between our Atlantic and Pacific possessions will be desirable. Central America is too far off, because it is halfway to California, and on the main, direct route, on the very route upon which you pay your Senators and Representatives in Congress their mileage in coming to the capital of the nation. The usual route of travel, the public highway, the halfway house from one portion of the country to the other, is so far distant that the man who thinks the time will ever come when we will want it is deemed a madman.

Mr. Clayton — Does the Senator apply those sentiments to me? I did not think so.

Mr. Douglas — I simply say that such an opinion was indicated by the vote of the gentleman on the resolution of Mr. Crittenden.

Mr. Clayton — The Senator is entirely mistaken on that point.

Mr. Douglas — In order to save time I waive the point as to the Senator's vote, although it is recorded in the volume before me, and he can read it at his leisure. But I am not mistaken in saying that the Senator on yesterday did ridicule the idea that we were ever to want any portion of Central America. He was utterly amazed, and in his amazement inquired where were these boundaries ever to cease. He wanted to know how far we were going and if we were going to spread over the entire continent. I do not think we will do it in our day, but I am not prepared to prescribe limits to the area over which Democratic principles may safely spread. I know not what our destiny may be. I try to keep up with the spirit of the age, to keep in view the history

of the country, see what we have done, whither we are going, and with what velocity we are moving, in order to be prepared for those events which it is not in the power of man to thwart.

You may make as many treaties as you please to fetter the limits of this giant Republic, and she will burst them all from her, and her course will be onward to a limit which I will not venture to prescribe. Why the necessity of pledging your faith that you will never annex any more of Mexico? Do you not know that you will be compelled to do it; that you cannot help it; that your treaty will not prevent it, and that the only effect it will have will be to enable European powers to accuse us of bad faith when the act is done, and associate American faith and Punic faith as synonymous terms? What is the use of your guarantee that you will never erect any fortifications in Central America; never annex, occupy, or colonize any portion of that country? How do you know that you can avoid doing it? If you make the canal, I ask you if American citizens will not settle along its line; whether they will not build up towns at each terminus; whether they will not spread over that country and convert it into an American State; whether American principles and American institutions will not be firmly planted there? And I ask you how many years you think will pass away before you will find the same necessity to extend your laws over your own kindred that you found in the case of Texas? How long will it be before that day arrives? It may not occur in the Senator's day, nor mine. But so certain as this Republic exists, so certain as we remain a united people, so certain as the laws of progress which have raised us from a mere handful to a mighty nation shall continue to govern our action, just so certain are these events to be worked out, and you will be compelled to extend your protection in that direction.

Sir, I am not desirous of hastening the day. I am not impatient of the time when it shall be realized. I do not wish to give any additional impulse to our progress. We are going fast enough. But I wish our public policy, our laws, our institutions, should keep up with the advance in science, in the mechanic arts, in agriculture, and in everything that tends to make us a great and powerful nation. Let us look the future in the face, and let us prepare to meet that which cannot be avoided. Hence, I was unwilling to adopt that clause in the treaty guaranteeing that neither party would ever annex, colonize, or occupy

any portion of Central America. I was opposed to it for another reason. It was not reciprocal. Great Britain had possession of the island of Jamaica. Jamaica was the nearest armed and fortified point to the terminus of the canal. Jamaica at present commands the entrance of that canal; and all that Great Britain desired was, inasmuch as she had possession of the only place commanding the canal, to procure a stipulation that no other power would ever erect a fortification nearer its terminus. That stipulation is equivalent to an agreement that England may fortify, but that we never shall. Sir, when you look at the whole history of that question, you will see that England, with her far-seeing, sagacious policy, has attempted to circumscribe and restrict and restrain the free action of this Government. When was it that Great Britain seized the possession of the terminus of this canal? Just six days after the signing of the treaty which secured to us California! The moment that England saw that, by the pending negotiations with Mexico, California was to be acquired, she collected her fleets and made preparations for the seizure of the port of San Juan, in order that she might be gate-keeper on the public highway to our own possessions on the Pacific. Within six days from the time we signed the treaty, England seized by force and violence the very point now in controversy. Is not this fact conclusive as to her motives? Is it not clear that her object was to obstruct our passage to our new possessions? Hence I do not sympathize with that feeling which the Senator expressed yesterday, that it was a pity to have a difference with a nation so friendly to us as England. Sir, I do not see the evidence of her friendship. It is not in the nature of things that she can be our friend. It is impossible she can love us. I do not blame her for not loving us. Sir, we have wounded her vanity and humbled her pride. She can never forgive us. But for us, she would be the first power on the face of the earth. But for us, she would have the prospect of maintaining that proud position which she held for so long a period. We are in her way. She is jealous of us, and jealously forbids the idea of friendship. England does not love us; she cannot love us, and we do not love her either. We have some things in the past to remember that are not agreeable. She has more in the present to humiliate her that she cannot forgive.

I do not wish to administer to the feeling of jealousy and rivalry that exists between us and England. I wish to soften

and smooth it down as much as possible; but why close our eyes to the fact that friendship is impossible while jealousy exists? Hence England seizes every island in the sea and rock upon our coast where she can plant a gun to intimidate us or to annoy our commerce. Her policy has been to seize every military and naval station the world over. Why does she pay such enormous sums to keep her post at Gibraltar, except to keep it *in terrorem* over the commerce of the Mediterranean? Why her enormous expense to maintain a garrison at the Cape of Good Hope, except to command the great passage on the way to the Indies? Why is she at the expense to keep her position on that little barren island Bermuda, and the miserable Bahamas, and all the other islands along our coast, except as sentinels upon our actions? Does England hold Bermuda because of any profit it is to her? Has she any other motive for retaining it except jealousy which stimulates hostility to us? Is it not the case with all of her possessions along our coast? Why, then, talk about the friendly bearing of England towards us when she is extending that policy every day? New treaties of friendship, seizure of islands, and erection of new colonies, in violation of her treaties, seem to be the order of the day. In view of this state of things, I am in favor of meeting England as we meet a rival; meet her boldly, treat her justly and fairly, but make no humiliating concession even for the sake of peace. She has as much reason to make concessions to us as we have to make them to her. I would not willingly disturb the peace of the world; but, sir, the Bay Island Colony must be discontinued. It violates the treaty.

Now, Mr. President, it is not my purpose to say another word upon our foreign relations. I have only occupied so much time as was necessary to put myself right in respect to the speech made by the Senator from Delaware. He advocates one line of policy in regard to our foreign relations, and I have deemed it my duty to advocate another. It has been my object to put the two systems by the side of each other, that the public might judge between us.

KANSAS AND «SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY»

(From the Speech Delivered at Springfield, Illinois, June 12th, 1857)

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: —

I APPEAR before you to-night, at the request of the grand jury in attendance upon the United States Court, for the purpose of submitting my views upon certain topics upon which they have expressed a desire to hear my opinion. It was not my purpose when I arrived among you to have engaged in any public or political discussion; but when called upon by a body of gentlemen so intelligent and respectable, coming from all parts of the State, and connected with the administration of public justice, I do not feel at liberty to withhold a full and frank expression of my opinion upon the subjects to which they have referred, and which now engrosses so large a share of the public attention. . . .

Of the Kansas question but little need be said at the present time. You are familiar with the history of the question and my connection with it. Subsequent reflection has strengthened and confirmed my convictions in the soundness of the principles and the correctness of the course I have felt it my duty to pursue upon that subject. Kansas is about to speak for herself through her delegates assembled in convention to form a constitution, preparatory to her admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States. Peace and prosperity now prevail throughout her borders. The law under which her delegates are about to be elected is believed to be just and fair in all its objects and provisions. There is every reason to hope and believe that the law will be fairly interpreted and impartially executed, so as to insure to every *bona fide* inhabitant the free and quiet exercise of the elective franchise. If any portion of the inhabitants, acting under the advice of political leaders in distant States, shall choose to absent themselves from the polls, and withhold their votes, with a view of leaving the Free-State Democrats in a minority, and thus securing a Pro-Slavery Constitution, in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the people living under it, let the responsibility rest on those who, for partisan purposes, will sacrifice the principles they profess to cherish and promote. Upon them, and upon the political party for whose benefit and under the direction of whose leaders they

act, let the blame be visited of fastening upon the people of a new State institutions repugnant to their feelings and in violation of their wishes. The organic act secures to the people of Kansas the sole and exclusive right of forming and regulating their domestic institutions to suit themselves, subject to no other limitation than that which the Constitution of the United States imposes. The Democratic party is determined to see the great fundamental principles of the organic act carried out in good faith. The present election law in Kansas is acknowledged to be fair and just, the rights of the voters are clearly defined, and the exercise of those rights will be efficiently and scrupulously protected. Hence, if the majority of the people of Kansas desire to have it a free State (and we are told by the Republican party that nine-tenths of the people of that Territory are free State men), there is no obstacle in the way of bringing Kansas into the Union as a free State, by the votes and voice of her own people, and in conformity with the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, provided all the free State men will go to the polls and vote their principles in accordance with their professions. If such is not the result, let the consequences be visited upon the heads of those whose policy it is to produce strife, anarchy, and bloodshed in Kansas, that their party may profit by slavery agitation in the Northern States of this Union. That the Democrats in Kansas will perform their duty fearlessly and nobly, according to the principle they cherish, I have no doubt; and that the result of the struggle will be such as will gladden the heart and strengthen the hopes of every friend of the Union, I have entire confidence.

The Kansas question being settled peacefully and satisfactorily, in accordance with the wishes of her own people, slavery agitation should be banished from the halls of Congress, and cease to be an exciting element in our political struggles. Give fair play to that principle of self-government which recognizes the right of the people of each State and Territory to form and regulate their own domestic institutions, and sectional strife will be forced to give place to that fraternal feeling which animated the fathers of the Revolution and made every citizen of every State of this glorious confederacy a member of a common brotherhood.

THE JOHN BROWN RAID

(From a Speech Delivered in the Senate, January 16th, 1860, Supporting a Bill «to Protect the States against Invasion»)

I PRESUME there will be very little difference of opinion that it will be necessary to place the whole military power of the Government at the disposal of the President, under proper guards and restrictions against abuse, to repel and suppress invasion when the hostile force shall be actually in the field. But, sir, that is not sufficient. Such legislation would not be a full compliance with this guaranty of the Constitution. The framers of that instrument meant more when they gave the guaranty. Mark the difference in language between the provision for protecting the United States against invasion and that for protecting the States. When it provided for protecting the United States, it said Congress shall have power to «repel invasion.» When it came to make this guaranty to the States, it changed the language and said the United States shall «protect» each of the States against invasion. In the one instance the duty of the Government is to repel; in the other, the guaranty is that they will protect. In other words, the United States are not permitted to wait until the enemy shall be upon your borders; until the invading army shall have been organized and drilled and placed in march with a view to the invasion; but they must pass all laws necessary and proper to insure protection and domestic tranquillity to each State and Territory of this Union against invasion or hostilities from other States and Territories.

Then, sir, I hold that it is not only necessary to use the military power when the actual case of invasion shall occur, but to authorize the judicial department of the Government to suppress all conspiracies and combinations in the several States with intent to invade a State, or molest or disturb its government, its peace, its citizens, its property, or its institutions. You must punish the conspiracy, the combination with intent to do the act, and then you will suppress it in advance. There is no principle more familiar to the legal profession than that wherever it is proper to declare an act to be a crime it is proper to punish a conspiracy or combination with intent to perpetrate the act. Look upon your statute books, and I presume you will find an enactment to punish the counterfeiting of the coin of the United

States; and then another section to punish a man for having counterfeit coin in his possession with intent to pass it; and another section to punish him for having the molds or dies or instruments for counterfeiting, with intent to use them. This is a familiar principle in legislative and judicial proceedings. If the act of invasion is criminal, the conspiracy to invade should also be made criminal. If it is unlawful and illegal to invade a State and run off fugitive slaves, why not make it unlawful to form conspiracies and combinations in the several States with intent to do the act? We have been told that a notorious man, who has recently suffered death for his crimes upon the gallows, boasted in Cleveland, Ohio, in a public lecture, a year ago, that he had then a body of men employed in running away horses from the slaveholders of Missouri, and pointed to a livery stable in Cleveland which was full of the stolen horses at that time.

I think it is within our competency, and consequently our duty, to pass a law making every conspiracy or combination in any State or Territory of this Union to invade another with intent to steal or run away property of any kind, whether it be negroes or horses or property of any other description, into another State, a crime, and punish the conspirators by indictment in the United States courts and confinement in the prisons and penitentiaries of the State or Territory where the conspiracy may be formed and quelled. Sir, I would carry these provisions of law as far as our constitutional powers will reach. I would make it a crime to form conspiracies with a view of invading States or Territories to control elections, whether they be under the garb of Emigrant Aid Societies of New England or Blue Lodges of Missouri. In other words, this provision of the Constitution means more than the mere repelling of an invasion when the invading army shall reach the border of a State. The language is, it shall protect the State against invasion; the meaning of which is, to use the language of the preamble to the Constitution, to insure to each State domestic tranquillity against external violence. There can be no peace, there can be no prosperity, there can be no safety in any community unless it is secured against violence from abroad. Why, sir, it has been a question seriously mooted in Europe, whether it was not the duty of England, a power foreign to France, to pass laws to punish conspiracies in England against the lives of the princes of France. I shall not argue the question of comity between

foreign States. I predicate my argument upon the Constitution by which we are governed and which we have sworn to obey, and demand that the Constitution be executed in good faith so as to punish and suppress every combination, every conspiracy, either to invade a State or to molest its inhabitants, or to disturb its property, or to subvert its institutions and its government. I believe this can be effectually done by authorizing the United States courts in the several States to take jurisdiction of the offense, and punish the violation of the law with appropriate punishments.

It cannot be said that the time has not yet arrived for such legislation. It cannot be said with truth that the Harper's Ferry case will not be repeated, or is not in danger of repetition. It is only necessary to inquire into the causes which produced the Harper's Ferry outrage, and ascertain whether those causes are yet in active operation, and then you can determine whether there is any ground for apprehension that that invasion will be repeated. Sir, what were the causes which produced the Harper's Ferry outrage? Without stopping to adduce evidence in detail, I have no hesitation in expressing my firm and deliberate conviction that the Harper's Ferry crime was the natural, logical, inevitable result of the doctrines and teachings of the Republican party, as explained and enforced in their platform, their partisan presses, their pamphlets and books, and especially in the speeches of their leaders in and out of Congress. . . .

And, sir, inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States confers upon Congress the power coupled with the duty of protecting each State against external aggression, and inasmuch as that includes the power of suppressing and punishing conspiracies in one State against the institutions, property, people, or government of every other State, I desire to carry out that power vigorously. Sir, give us such a law as the Constitution contemplates and authorizes, and I will show the Senator from New York that there is a constitutional mode of repressing the "irrepressible conflict." I will open the prison doors to allow conspirators against the peace of the Republic and the domestic tranquillity of our States to select their cells wherein to drag out a miserable life as a punishment for their crimes against the peace of society.

THE ISSUES OF 1861

(From an Address to the Illinois Legislature, April 25th, 1861)

WHENEVER our government is assailed, when hostile armies are marching under rude and odious banners against the government of our country, the shortest way to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparation for war. The greater the unanimity the less blood will be shed. The more prompt and energetic is the movement, and the more important it is in numbers, the shorter will be the struggle.

While all the States of this Union, and every citizen of every State, has a priceless legacy dependent upon the success of our efforts to maintain this Government, we in the great valley of the Mississippi have peculiar interests and inducements to the struggle. What is the attempt now being made? Seven States of this Union choose to declare that they will no longer obey the behest of the United States, that they will withdraw from the government established by our fathers, that they will dissolve, without our consent, the bonds that have united us together. But, not content with that, they proceed to invade and obstruct our dearest and most inalienable rights, secured to us by the Constitution. One of their first acts is to establish a battery of cannon upon the banks of the Mississippi, on the dividing line between the States of Mississippi and Tennessee, and require every steamer that passes down the river to come to under a gun, to receive a customhouse officer on board to prescribe where the boat may land, and upon what terms it may put out a barrel of flour or a cask of bacon, to cut off our freedom of trade upon the river and on the borders of those States.

We are called on to sanction this policy. Before consenting to their right to commit such acts, I implore you to consider that the same principle which will allow the cotton States to exclude us from the ports of the Gulf would authorize the New England States and New York and Pennsylvania to exclude us from the Atlantic, and the Pacific States to exclude us from the ports of that ocean. Whenever you sanction this doctrine of secession, you authorize the States bordering on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to withdraw from us, form alliances among themselves, and exclude us from the markets of the world and from communication with all the rest of Christendom. Not only

this, but there follows a tariff of duties on imports, the levying of taxes on every pound of tea and coffee and sugar and every yard of cloth that we may import for our consumption; the levying, too, of an export duty upon every pound of meat and every bushel of corn that we may choose to send to the markets of the world to pay for our imports. Bear in mind that these very cotton States, who in former times have been so boisterous in their demands for free trade, have, among their first acts, established an export duty on cotton for the first time in American history.

It is an historical fact, well known to every man who has read the debates of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, that the Southern States refused to become parties to the Constitution unless there was an express provision in the Constitution forbidding Congress to levy an export duty on any product of the earth. No sooner have these cotton States seceded than an export duty is levied; and, if they will levy it on their cotton, do you not think that they will levy it on our pork, and our beef, and our corn, and our wheat, and our manufactured articles, and on all we have to sell? Then what is the proposition? It is to enable the tier of States bordering on the Atlantic and Pacific, and on the Gulf, surrounding us on all sides, to withdraw from our Union, form alliances among themselves, and then levy taxes on us without our consent, and collect revenue without giving us any just proportion of all the amount collected. Can we submit to taxation without representation? Can we permit nations foreign to us to collect revenues out of our produce, out of the fruit of our industry? I ask the citizens of Illinois, I ask every citizen in the great basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, in the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri, to tell me whether he is willing to sanction a line of policy that may isolate us from the markets of the world, and make us provinces dependent on the powers that thus choose to isolate us?

I warn you, my countrymen, that, whenever you permit this to be done in the Southern States, New York will very soon follow their example. New York, that great port, where two-thirds of our revenue are collected, and whence two-thirds of our goods are exported, will not long be able to resist the temptation of taxing fifteen millions of people in the great West, when she can thus monopolize their resources, and release her own people

from any taxation whatever. . . . I am not prepared to take up arms, or to sanction a policy of our government to take up arms, to make any war on the rights of the Southern States, on their institutions, on their rights of person or property, but, on the contrary, would rush to their defense and protect them from assault; but, while that is the case, I will never cease to urge my countrymen to take arms to fight to the death in defense of our indefeasible rights. Hence, if a war does come, it is a war of self-defense on our part. It is a war in defense of our own just rights; in defense of the government which we have inherited as a priceless legacy from our patriotic fathers; in defense of our great rights of freedom of trade, commerce, transit, and intercourse from the centre to the circumference of this great continent. . . .

My friends, I can say no more. To discuss these topics is the most painful duty of my life. It is with a sad heart, with a grief that I have never before experienced, that I have to contemplate this fearful struggle; but I believe in my conscience that it is a duty we owe to ourselves, our children, and our God, to protect this Government and that flag from every assailant, be he who he may.

LORENZO DOW, JUNIOR

(1777–1834)

EW subjects are of greater scientific interest than that of the extent to which the human mind, when not habitually governed in its operations by the will, is liable to be influenced by such musical suggestion as influences the ear of a composer in making an instrumental melody, or of a versifier in rhyming. It is certain that this unconscious suggestion is a factor in the pleasing expression of thought and that in disordered intellects it is liable to operate independently of the will. In its extreme manifestations it is recognized as a mark of insanity and is treated as a disease by alienists. In its healthy development, however, it has a great deal to do with the modes of thought and expression of those who are called «natural orators.» To this class Lorenzo Dow belongs. Had he been carefully educated, so that his sense of humor and his ear for melody would not have co-operated in impelling him continually to precipitate himself from the sublime into the ridiculous, he might have been one of the greatest orators of America. As it is, he is remarkable among speakers in English because of the misfortune of humor and the complete fluency which illustrates the results of unrestrained ability to give melodious expression to everything that is liable to come into the mind of a speaker in sympathy with the average intellect of his times. He was born at Coventry, Connecticut, October 16th, 1777. Inspired by the example of Wesley, but without Wesley's education, he became an evangelist, unconventional in his ideas and eccentric in his methods. After making himself celebrated in America, he went as a missionary to England and Ireland, attracting much attention there. He died in Washington, February 2d, 1834. His journals and miscellaneous writings have been published, and are still in print.

IMPROVEMENT IN AMERICA

My Dear Friends:—

I MEAN to speak of the spirit of improvement in general terms, as relating to enlightenment, the advancement of knowledge and progress in the arts and sciences. In this respect it is like the rolling avalanche, that leaves detached portions of its bulk by the way, and yet keeps augmenting in its circumvolutionary course. Hardy Enterprise first goes forward as a pioneer in the untracked wilderness, and commences fight with the mighty trees of the forest, cutting them off, some in the prime of life, and others in a green old age, and compelling them to spill their sap upon their country's soil. Then walks Agriculture into them 'ere diggins, with spade, harrow, and hoe, and scatters the seed of promise hither and thither, assuring the hopeful settler that his children's children shall sop their hard-earned crumbs in the real gravy of the land. The handmaid Art then comes forward, erects edifices of splendor, and leaves her ornaments of skill on every side — builds studios for the scholars of science, and throws facilities in their way for increasing their wisdom, or for making egregious fools of themselves.

Such, my hearers, is the spirit of improvement. Like the overflowing of a stream that covers and enriches the valley, it betters the natural and social condition of man, opens wide the avenues to the temple of reason, and expands the young buds of prosperity. Brush away the fog of a couple of centuries, and take a look at this, our native land, as it then appeared. Here, upon the Atlantic shore, the scream of the panther arose on the midnight air with the savage war whoop, and the pale-faced pilgrim trembled for the safety of his defenseless home. He planted his beans in fear, and gathered them in trouble; his chickens and his children were plundered by the foe, and life itself was in danger of leaking out from between the logs of his hut, even if it was fortified with three muskets, a spunky wife, and a jug of whisky. Yes, my friends, this was then a wild, gloomy, and desolate place. Where the Indian squaw hung her young papoose upon the bough, and left it to squall at the hush-a-bye of the blast, the Anglo-Saxon mother now rocks the cradle of her delicate babe on the carpet of peace, and in the gay parlor of fashion. The wild has been changed to a blooming

garden, and its limits are expanding with the mighty genius of Liberty. On Erie's banks the flocks are now straying o'er thymy pastures, and a few Dutchmen (but no shepherds) are already piping there. The yells of fierce savages now faintly echo from beyond the waters of the Mississippi, and the time is not far off when the last Indian will leave his bones to bleach on the rock-bound coast of the Pacific.

HOPE AND DESPAIR

The whitest foam dances upon the darkest billow, and the stars shine the brightest when surrounded by the blackest of thunder clouds, even as a diamond pin glistens with the greatest effulgence when fastened upon the ebony bosom of an Ethiopian wench. So hope mirrors its most brilliant rays in the dark wave of despair, and happiness is never so complete as when visited occasionally by the ministers of misery. These ups and downs in the pathway of man's existence are all for the best, and yet he allows them to vex and torment his peace till he bursts the boiler of his rage, and scalds his own toes. I have no doubt but the common run of people would like to have a railroad built from here to the grave, and go through by steam, but if they all worked as easy in life's galling collar as I do, they would have things just as they are,— some ups and some downs, some sweet and some bitter, some sunshine and some storm,— because they constitute a variety. I wouldn't give a shinplaster penny to have the road of existence perfectly level; for I should soon become tired of a dull sameness of prospect, and make myself miserable in the idea that I must experience no material change, either for better or for worse. Plum pudding is most excellent stuff to wind off a dinner with; but all plum pudding would be worse than none at all. So you see, my friends, the troubles and trials of life are absolutely necessary to enable us to judge rightly of genuine happiness, whenever it happens to enliven the saturnine region of the heart with its presence.

If we never were to have our jackets and shirts wet with the cold rain of misfortune, we could never know how good it feels to stand out and dry in the warm rays of comfort. You need not hesitate ever to travel through swamps of trouble for fear of

sinking over head in the mud of despondency, for despair is never quite despair. No, my friends, it never comes quite up to the mark in the most desperate cases. I know the prospects of man are sometimes most tormentingly conglomerous; but the clouds eventually clear away, and his sky again becomes clear and quiescent as a basin of potato starch. His sun of ambition may be darkened, his moon of memory turned to blood, and the star of his peace blotted from the firmament of his—I don't know what; but he is not entirely a gone goose even in this situation. Those semi-celestial angels of light and loveliness, Hope and Fancy, will twine the sweetest of roses round his care-wrinkled brow; and while one whispers in his ear, "Don't give up the ship," the other dresses up for him a bower of future happiness, and festoons it with the choicest of Elysian flowers. The very darkest cell of despair always has a gimlet hole to let the glory of hope shine in, and dry up the tears of the poor prisoner of woe.

CHARLES D. DRAKE

(1811–1892)

HARLES D. DRAKE plays an important part in the history of the Reconstruction period as a representative of what was contemporaneously called its extreme «radicalism.» He represented an element which intended to play and did play the rôle of «Root and Branch Men,» demanding the complete eradication of the political power of the former slave-holders. As the putative father of the «Drake Constitution» in Missouri, he became celebrated, and is likely to keep a place in history in connection with that instrument — scarcely if at all less important in its connection than the Missouri Compromise was to the issue of the territorial extension of slavery. He was born in Cincinnati in 1811. In 1827 he served in the navy as a midshipman, but left the service, studied law, was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati, and in 1834 removed to St. Louis. He served in the Missouri Legislature of 1859–60; was Vice-President of the Constitutional Convention which adopted the «Drake Constitution» of 1865; was United States Senator for Missouri from 1867 till 1870; and was Presiding Justice of the Court of Claims from 1870 to 1885.

AGAINST «COPPERHEADS»

(From a Speech Delivered in Chicago, September 1st, 1864)

MUCH has been said in the last three years about the cause of this war. I have my own views of what caused it, which I will give presently; but let us now see what the Copperheads have said in Chicago on that subject. A Mr. Ben Allen, from somewhere on the face of the globe, — I don't know where, — tells us what was not the cause — tells us that «slavery was not the cause of the war!» and so all the rest would have said, had they spoken on that point. I never saw a rebel, a Copperhead, or a Democrat, who would admit that slavery had anything to do with the war. Oh, no, «the peculiar institution» is as innocent of that as a lamb of stirring up strife with a wolf!

Then he goes on to say that "the Abolitionists were the cause of the war"; and every rebel, traitor, Copperhead, and Democrat in the North would say Amen! if he were called to respond to that sentiment. He then says that "if you would remove the cause of the war, you must remove the Abolitionists"; and to that sublime proposition every rebel, traitor, Copperhead, and Democrat in the land would cry, Glory, Hallelujah! But if they undertook to remove all the Abolitionists which this infernal war has made, who were never Abolitionists before, they would have a jolly time of it. That is Mr. Ben Allen's explanation of the cause of the war, and that is the Democratic explanation of it.

Then comes Vallandigham with his explanation and says: "We resorted to arms to compel a people to submission when they simply wanted a redress of grievances." My friends, of all the falsehoods which traitors, North or South, have uttered in defense of the Rebellion, there is not one more black than that. If there is anything certain, it is that the old "Father of Lies" has made Chicago his particular abode since Friday last. He no doubt thought that a Democratic convention was the very place where he would be at home; and now that his body is gone, I trust, for your sake, he has gone too.

But look at these explanations of the cause of the war in one point of view. They are exponents of Democratic opinion and sentiment, and I ask you to note that they impute the whole blame of the war to the North and utter not one word of blame to the South. Who can doubt that the men who can so express themselves know better? Do they not willfully lie, by the suppression of the truth, as well as by the expression of falsehood? They know, as well as they know they live, that the war was begun by the South with but one object, and that was to establish a great empire of slavery upon the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. That is my explanation of the cause of the war, and before God it is the only true one. I would be glad to give you the evidence of it, as I have on former occasions given it to the people of Missouri, but I fear I have already detained you too long. Well, my friends, if you are willing to listen, I will present to you such expressions from Southern leaders, in 1860 and 1861, as will not fail, I think, to demonstrate the irrefragable truth of my views on this subject. I do it the more willingly, because I think that such matter should everywhere be brought out and always kept before the people.

Senator Iverson, of Georgia, said:—

«There is but one path of safety for the South, but one mode of preserving her institution of domestic slavery, and that is, a confederacy of States having no incongruous and opposing elements — a confederacy of slave States alone, with homogeneous language, laws, interests, and institutions. Under such a Confederate Republic, with a constitution that should shut out the approach and entrance of all incongruous and conflicting elements, which should protect the institution from change, and keep the whole nation bound to its preservation by an unchangeable fundamental law, the fifteen slave States, with their power of expansion, would present to the world the most free, prosperous, and happy nation on the face of the earth.»

Mr. Brooks, Representative from South Carolina, said:—

«We have the issue upon us now; and how are we to meet it? I tell you from the bottom of my heart, that the only mode which I can think available for meeting it is just to tear the Constitution of the United States and to trample it underfoot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of which shall be a slaveholding State.»

The South Carolina convention thus addressed the people of the slave States:—

«People of the slaveholding States of the United States: Circumstances beyond our control have placed us in the van of the great controversy between the Northern and Southern States. We would have preferred that other States should have assumed the position we now occupy. Independent ourselves, we disclaim any intention or design to lead the counsels of the other Southern States. Providence has cast our lot together by extending over us an identity of purpose, interests, and institutions. South Carolina desires no destiny separate from yours. To be one of a great slaveholding confederacy, stretching its arms over a territory larger than any power in Europe possesses — with a population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British Empire — with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people who inhabit it — with common institutions to defend and common danger to encounter, we ask your sympathy and your confederation. . . .

«United together, and we must be the most independent, as we are the most important among the nations of the world. United together, and we require no other instrument to conquer peace than our beneficent productions. United together, and we must be a great, free, and prosperous people, whose renown must be spread

throughout the civilized world, and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. We ask you to join us in forming a Confederacy of Slaveholding States.»

Senator Brown, of Mississippi, said:—

«I want Cuba; I want Tamaulipas, Potosi, and one or two other Mexican States; and I want them all for the same reason—for the planting and spreading of slavery. And a footing in Central America will wonderfully aid us in acquiring those other States. Yes, I want those countries for the spread of slavery. I would spread the blessings of slavery, like the religion of our Divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth. . . . Whether we can obtain the territory while the Union lasts, I do not know; I fear we cannot, but I would make an honest effort, and if we failed I would go out of the Union and try it there.»

Ex-Governor Call, of Florida, said:—

«Slavery cannot be stopped in its career of usefulness to the whole world. It cannot be confined to its present limits. Dire and uncontrollable necessity will compel the master and the slave to cut their way through every barrier which may be thrown around it, or perish together in the attempt. . . . It may be in the providence of God that the American Union, which has cheered the whole world with its promises, like the star which stood for a time over the cradle of Bethlehem, may fall and lose its light forever. It may be, in his dispensation of human events, that the great American family shall be divided into many nations. But divided or united, the path of destiny must lead the Anglo-Saxon race to the mastery of this whole continent. And if the whole column shall not advance, this division of the race will, with the institution of African slavery, advance from the banks of the Rio Grande to the line under the sun, establishing the waymarks of progress, the altars of the reformed religion, the temples of a higher civilization, a purer liberty, and a better system of human government.»

There, my friends, you have the open avowal of that empire of slavery which the South was to build upon the ruins of the Union, the broken ramparts of the Constitution, and the grave of Liberty. For such a cause as that the war was begun, for such a cause it is prosecuted, and to such an end it will go, if the Democracy can carry it there, even if the country go into the very jaws of hell. It is for the loyal men of the North, and for them alone, to say whether that cause shall triumph.

HENRY DRUMMOND

(1851–1897)

Professor Henry Drummond's address, 'The Greatest Thing in the World,' has probably been circulated more extensively than any other address of the nineteenth century, and its place as one of the great classics of the language is already assured. This is partly due to the masterly simplicity of its style, but there is a deeper reason. After a quarter of a century of wrangling between the "dons" of science and the doctors of theology, Drummond came to "speak with authority and not as the scribes." From the publication of Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' until Drummond, as thorough-going an evolutionist as Darwin himself, published his 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World,' not a few supposed that a great conflict was in progress between Religion and Science. Under the influence of Drummond's work, this idea lost its popularity, and when, some time after its delivery, his address, 'The Greatest Thing in the World,' was published, it had an unprecedented circulation,—a circulation which resulted in quieting the fears of the religious world, until then greatly apprehensive of what was called "Darwinism."

Drummond was born at Stirling, Scotland, in 1851. As professor of biology in the Free Church College of Glasgow, he was brought into close touch with such great evolutionists as Spencer and Huxley; and as fully as they, he accepted the conclusion that all the forces of nature work continually to develop the higher forms of life from the lower. This central thought of evolution seemed to him to be in the fullest harmony with the central thought of Christianity, and he found in it an inspiration which gave him an almost prophetic earnestness in pleading with his generation to hold to its old ideals and realize them through what he looked on as the new manifestations of their power in controlling the human mind and bringing it into closer touch with the order and harmony of nature.

An ordained minister in the Free Church of Scotland, Professor Drummond diversified his work as a scientist by not less zealous work as an evangelist. He was a friend and pupil of Moody, but his greatest work has been in influencing the intellect of those who had become skeptical because changes in language and habits of expression had made unintelligible or even repulsive to them what their ancestors had regarded with veneration as the deepest truths

the human mind is capable of conceiving. It was in translating into modern forms these antique expressions of principle that Drummond most excelled. The ability to do this and at the same time to translate "scientific ideas into common English" was, without doubt, the chief source of his power. His address, 'The Greatest Thing in the World,' is by some considered the masterpiece of its class.

THE GREATEST THING IN THE WORLD

EVERY one has asked himself the great question of antiquity as of the modern world: What is the *summum bonum*—the supreme good? You have life before you. Once only you can live it. What is the noblest object of desire, the supreme gift to covet?

We have been accustomed to be told that the greatest thing in the religious world is Faith. That great word has been the keynote for centuries of the popular religion, and we have easily learned to look upon it as the greatest thing in the world. Well, we are wrong. If we have been told that, we may miss the mark. I have taken you, in the chapter which I have just read, to Christianity at its source, and there we have seen "The greatest of these is love." It is not an oversight. Paul was speaking of faith just a moment before. He says: "If I have all faith, so that I can remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing." So far from forgetting, he deliberately contrasts them, "Now abideth Faith, Hope, Love," and without a moment's hesitation the decision falls: "The greatest of these is Love."

And it is not prejudice. A man is apt to recommend to others his own strong point.

Love was not Paul's strong point. The observing student can detect a beautiful tenderness growing and ripening all through his character as Paul gets old; but the hand that wrote: "The greatest of these is Love," when we meet it first, is stained with blood.

Nor is this letter to the Corinthians peculiar in singling out love as the *summum bonum*. The masterpieces of Christianity are agreed about it. Peter says, "Above all things have fervent love among yourselves." Above all things. And John goes further, "God is love." And you remember the profound remark which Paul makes elsewhere, "Love is the fulfilling of the law."

Did you ever think what he meant by that? In those days men were working their passage to Heaven by keeping the Ten Commandments and the hundred and ten other commandments which they had manufactured out of them. Christ said, I will show you a more simple way. If you do one thing, you will do these one hundred and ten things without ever thinking about them. If you love, you will unconsciously fulfill the whole law. And you can readily see for yourselves how that must be so. Take any of the commandments: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." If a man love God, you will not require to tell him that. Love is the fulfilling of that law. "Take not his name in vain." Would he ever dream of taking his name in vain, if he loved him? "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy." Would he not be too glad to have one day in seven to dedicate more exclusively to the object of his affection? Love would fulfill all these laws regarding God. And so, if he loved man, you would never think of telling him to honor his father and mother. He could not do anything else. It would be preposterous to tell him not to kill. You could only insult him if you suggested that he should not steal — how could he steal from those he loved? It would be superfluous to beg him not to bear false witness against his neighbor. If he loved him, it would be the last thing he would do.

And you would never dream of urging him not to covet what his neighbors had. He would rather they possessed it than himself. In this way, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." It is the rule for fulfilling all rules, the new commandment for keeping all the old commandments, Christ's one secret of the Christian life.

Now Paul had learned that; and in this noble eulogy he has given us the most wonderful and original account extant of the *summum bonum*. We may divide it into three parts: In the beginning of the short chapter we have Love contrasted; in the heart of it we have Love analyzed; toward the end we have Love defended as the supreme gift.

Paul begins by contrasting Love with other things that men in those days thought much of. I shall not attempt to go over those things in detail. Their inferiority is already obvious.

He contrasts it with eloquence. And what a noble gift it is, the power of playing upon the souls and wills of men, and rousing them to lofty purposes and holy deeds. Paul says: "If I

speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." And we all know why. We have all felt the brazenness of words without emotion, the hollowness, the unaccountable unpersuasiveness, of eloquence behind which lies no Love.

He contrasts it with prophecy. He contrasts it with mysteries. He contrasts it with faith. He contrasts it with charity. Why is Love greater than faith? Because the end is greater than the means. And why is it greater than charity? Because the whole is greater than the part. Love is greater than faith, because the end is greater than the means. What is the use of having faith? It is to connect the soul with God. And what is the object of connecting man with God? That he may become like God. But God is Love. Hence Faith, the means, is in order to Love, the end. Love, therefore, obviously is greater than faith. It is greater than charity, again, because the whole is greater than a part. Charity is only a little bit of Love, one of the innumerable avenues of Love, and there may even be, and there is, a great deal of charity without Love. It is a very easy thing to toss a copper to a beggar on the street; it is generally an easier thing than not to do it. Yet Love is just as often in the withholding. We purchase relief from the sympathetic feelings roused by the spectacle of misery, at the copper's cost. It is too cheap — too cheap for us, and often too dear for the beggar. If we really loved him, we would either do more for him, or less.

Then Paul contrasts it with sacrifice and martyrdom. And I beg the little band of would-be missionaries — and I have the honor to call some of you by this name for the first time — to remember that though you give your bodies to be burned, and have not Love, it profits nothing — nothing! You can take nothing greater to the heathen world than the impress and reflection of the Love of God upon your own character. That is the universal language. It will take you years to speak in Chinese, or in the dialects of India. From the day you land, that language of Love, understood by all, will be pouring forth its unconscious eloquence. It is the man who is the missionary, it is not his words. His character is his message. In the heart of Africa, among the great lakes, I have come across black men and women who remembered the only white man they ever saw before — David Livingstone; and as you cross his footsteps in

that dark continent, men's faces light up as they speak of the kind doctor who passed there years ago. They could not understand him; but they felt the Love that beat in his heart. Take into your new sphere of labor, where you also mean to lay down your life, that simple charm, and your lifework must succeed. You can take nothing greater, you need take nothing less. It is not worth while going if you take anything less. You may take every accomplishment; you may be braced for every sacrifice; but if you give your body to be burned, and have not Love, it will profit you and the cause of Christ nothing.

After contrasting Love with these things, Paul, in three verses, very short, gives us an amazing analysis of what this supreme thing is. I ask you to look at it. It is a compound thing, he tells us. It is like light. As you have seen a man of science take a beam of light and pass it through a crystal prism, as you have seen it come out on the other side of the prism broken up into its component colors — red and blue and yellow and violet and orange, and all the colors of the rainbow — so Paul passes this thing, Love, through the magnificent prism of his inspired intellect, and it comes out on the other side broken up into its elements. And in these few words we have what one might call the Spectrum of Love, the analysis of Love. Will you observe what its elements are? Will you notice that they have common names; that they are virtues which we hear about every day; that they are things which can be practiced by every man in every place in life; and how, by a multitude of small things and ordinary virtues, the supreme thing, the *summum bonum*, is made up?

The Spectrum of Love has nine ingredients:—

Patience, "Love suffereth long."
Kindness, "And is kind."
Generosity, "Love envieth not."
Humility, "Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up."
Courtesy, "Doth not behave itself unseemly."
Unselfishness, "Seeketh not her own."
Good Temper, "Is not easily provoked."
Guilelessness, "Thinketh no evil."
Sincerity, "Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth."

Patience; kindness; generosity; humility; courtesy; unselfishness; good temper; guilelessness; sincerity — these make up the

supreme gift, the stature of the perfect man. You will observe that all are in relation to men, in relation to life, in relation to the known to-day and the near to-morrow, and not to the unknown eternity. We hear much of love to God; Christ spoke much of love to man. We make a great deal of peace with heaven; Christ made much of peace on earth. Religion is not a strange or added thing, but the inspiration of the secular life, the breathing of an eternal spirit through this temporal world. The supreme thing, in short, is not a thing at all, but the giving of a further finish to the multitudinous words and acts which make up the sum of every common day.

There is no time to do more than make a passing note upon each of these ingredients. Love is *Patience*. This is the normal attitude of Love; Love passive, Love waiting to begin; not in a hurry; calm; ready to do its work when the summons comes, but meantime wearing the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. Love suffers long; beareth all things; believeth all things; hopeth all things. For Love understands, and therefore waits.

Kindness. Love active. Have you ever noticed how much of Christ's life was spent in doing kind things — in merely doing kind things? Run over it with that in view, and you will find that he spent a great proportion of his time simply in making people happy, in doing good turns to people. There is only one thing greater than happiness in the world, and that is holiness; and it is not in our keeping, but what God has put in our power is the happiness of those about us, and that is largely to be secured by our being kind to them.

"The greatest thing," says some one, "a man can do for his Heavenly Father is to be kind to some of his other children." I wonder why it is that we are not all kinder than we are? How much the world needs it. How easily it is done. How instantaneously it acts. How infallibly it is remembered. How superabundantly it pays itself back — for there is no debtor in the world so honorable, so superbly honorable, as Love. "Love never faileth." Love is success. Love is happiness. Love is life. "Love," I say with Browning, "is energy of life."

> "For life, with all it yields of joy or woe
> And hope and fear,
> Is just our chance o' the prize of learning love,—
> How love might be, hath been indeed, and is."

Where Love is, God is. He that dwelleth in Love dwelleth in God. God is Love. Therefore love. Without distinction, without calculation, without procrastination, love. Lavish it upon the poor, where it is very easy; especially upon the rich, who often need it most; most of all upon our equals, where it is very difficult, and for whom, perhaps, we each do least of all. There is a difference between trying to please and giving pleasure. Give pleasure. Lose no chance of giving pleasure. For that is the ceaseless and anonymous triumph of a truly loving spirit. "I shall pass through this world but once. Any good thing therefore that I can do, or any kindness that I can show to any human being, let me do it now. Let me not defer it or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again."

Generosity. "Love envieth not." This is Love in competition with others. Whenever you attempt a good work, you will find other men doing the same kind of work, and probably doing it better. Envy them not. Envy is a feeling of ill-will to those who are in the same line as ourselves, a spirit of covetousness and detraction. How little Christian work even is a protection against un-Christian feeling. That most despicable of all the unworthy moods which cloud a Christian's soul assuredly waits for us on the threshold of every work, unless we are fortified with this grace of magnanimity. Only one thing truly need the Christian envy, the large, rich, generous soul which "envieth not."

And then, after having learned all that, you have to learn this further thing, *Humility*—to put a seal upon your lips and forget what you have done. After you have been kind, after Love has stolen forth into the world and done its beautiful work, go back into the shade again, and say nothing about it. Love hides even from itself. Love waives even self-satisfaction. "Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up."

The fifth ingredient is a somewhat strange one to find in this *summum bonum: Courtesy.* This is Love in society, Love in relation to etiquette. "Love doth not behave itself unseemly" Politeness has been defined as love in trifles. Courtesy is said to be love in little things. And the one secret of politeness is to love. Love cannot behave itself unseemly. You can put the most untutored persons into the highest society, and if they have a reservoir of Love in their hearts, they will not behave themselves unseemly. They simply cannot do it. Carlyle said of Robert Burns that there was no truer gentleman in Europe than

the ploughman-poet. It was because he loved everything — the mouse, and the daisy, and all the things, great and small, that God had made. So with this simple passport he could mingle with any society, and enter courts and palaces from his little cottage on the banks of the Ayr. You know the meaning of the word "gentleman." It means a gentle man — a man who does things gently with Love. And that is the whole art and mystery of it. The gentle man cannot, in the nature of things, do an ungentle and ungentlemanly thing. The ungentle soul, the inconsiderate, unsympathetic nature cannot do anything else. "Love doth not behave itself unseemly."

Unselfishness. "Love seeketh not her own." Observe: Seeketh not even tnat which is her own. In Britain, the Englishman is devoted, and rightly, to his rights. But there come times when a man may exercise even the higher right of giving up his rights. Yet Paul does not summon us to give up our rights. Love strikes much deeper. It would have us not seek them at all, ignore them, eliminate the personal element altogether from our calculations. It is not hard to give up our rights. They are often external. The difficult thing is to give up ourselves. The more difficult thing still is not to seek things for ourselves at all. After we have sought them, bought them, won them, deserved them, we have taken the cream off them for ourselves already. Little cross, then, to give them up. But not to seek them, to look every man not on his own things, but on the things of others — *id opus est.* "Seekest thou great things for thyself"? said the prophet; "seek them not." Why? Because there is no greatness in things. Things cannot be great. The only greatness is unselfish love. Even self-denial in itself is nothing, is almost a mistake. Only a great purpose or a mightier love can justify the waste. It is more difficult, I have said, not to seek our own at all, than, having sought it, to give it up. I must take that back. It is only true of a partly selfish heart. Nothing is a hardship to Love, and nothing is hard. I believe that Christ's "yoke" is easy. Christ's "yoke" is just his way of taking life. And I believe it is an easier way than any other. I believe it is a happier way than any other. The most obvious lesson in Christ's teaching is that there is no happiness in having and getting anything, but only in giving. I repeat, there is no happiness in having or in getting, but only in giving. And half the world is on the wrong scent in pursuit of happiness.

They think it consists in having and getting, and in being served by others. It consists in giving, and in serving others. He that would be great among you, said Christ, let him serve. He that would be happy, let him remember that there is but one way — it is more blessed, it is more happy, to give than to receive.

The next ingredient is a very remarkable one: *Good Temper.* "Love is not easily provoked." Nothing could be more striking than to find this here. We are inclined to look upon bad temper as a very harmless weakness. We speak of it as a mere infirmity of nature, a family failing, a matter of temperament, not a thing to take into very serious account in estimating a man's character. And yet here, right in the heart of this analysis of Love, it finds a place; and the Bible again and again returns to condemn it as one of the most destructive elements in human nature.

The peculiarity of ill-temper is that it is the vice of the virtuous. It is often the one blot on an otherwise noble character. You know men who are all but perfect, and women who would be entirely perfect, but for an easily ruffled, quick-tempered, or "touchy" disposition. This compatibility of ill-temper with high moral character is one of the strangest and saddest problems of ethics. The truth is there are two great classes of sins — sins of the Body, and sins of the Disposition. The Prodigal Son may be taken as a type of the first, the Elder Brother of the second. Now, society has no doubt whatever as to which of these is the worse. Its brand falls, without a challenge, upon the Prodigal. But are we right? We have no balance to weigh one another's sins, and coarser and finer are but human words; but faults in the higher nature may be less venial than those in the lower, and to the eye of him who is Love, a sin against Love may seem a hundred times more base. No form of vice, not worldliness, not greed of gold, not drunkenness itself, does more to un-Christianize society than evil temper. For embittering life, for breaking up communities, for destroying the most sacred relationships, for devastating homes, for withering up men and women, for taking the bloom of childhood, in short, for sheer gratuitous misery-producing power, this influence stands alone. Look at the Elder Brother, moral, hard-working, patient, dutiful — let him get all credit for his virtues — look at this man, this baby, sulking outside his own father's door. "He was angry," we read, "and would not go in." Look at the effect upon the father, upon the

servants, upon the happiness of the guests. Judge of the effect upon the Prodigal — and how many prodigals are kept out of the Kingdom of God by the unlovely character of those who profess to be inside? Analyze, as a study in Temper, the thundercloud itself as it gathers upon the Elder Brother's brow. What is it made of? Jealousy, anger, pride, uncharity, cruelty, self-righteousness, touchiness, doggedness, sullenness — these are the ingredients of this dark and loveless soul. In varying proportions, also, these are the ingredients of all ill-temper. Judge if such sins of the disposition are not worse to live in, and for others to live with, than sins of the body. Did Christ, indeed, not answer the question himself when he said: "I say unto you that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of Heaven before you." There is really no place in Heaven for a disposition like this. A man with such a mood could only make Heaven miserable for all the people in it. Except, therefore, such a man be born again, he cannot, he simply cannot, enter the Kingdom of Heaven. For it is perfectly certain — and you will not misunderstand me — that to enter Heaven a man must take it with him.

You will see, then, why temper is significant. It is not in what it is alone, but in what it reveals. This is why I take the liberty now of speaking of it with such unusual plainness. It is a test for love, a symptom, a revelation of an unloving nature at bottom. It is the intermittent fever which bespeaks unintermittent disease within; the occasional bubble escaping to the surface which betrays some rottenness underneath; a sample of the most hidden products of the soul dropped involuntarily when off one's guard; in a word, the lightning form of a hundred hideous and un-Christian sins. For a want of patience, a want of kindness, a want of generosity, a want of courtesy, a want of unselfishness, are all instantaneously symbolized in one flash of temper.

Hence it is not enough to deal with the temper. We must go to the source and change the inmost nature, and the angry humors will die away of themselves. Souls are made sweet not by taking the acid fluids out, but by putting something in — a great Love, a new spirit, the spirit of Christ. Christ, the spirit of Christ interpenetrating ours, sweetens, purifies, transforms all. This only can eradicate what is wrong, work a chemical change, renovate and regenerate and rehabilitate the inner man. Will power does not change men. Time does not change men. Christ does.

Therefore, "Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus." Some of us have not much time to lose. Remember, once more, that this is a matter of life or death. I cannot help speaking urgently, for myself, for yourselves. "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." That is to say, it is the deliberate verdict of the Lord Jesus that it is better not to live than not to love. It is better not to live than not to love.

Guilelessness and *Sincerity* may be dismissed almost with a word. Guilelessness is the grace for suspicious people. And the possession of it is the great secret of personal influence. You will find, if you think for a moment, that the people who influence you are people who believe in you. In an atmosphere of suspicion men shrivel up; but in that atmosphere they expand, and find encouragement and educative fellowship. It is a wonderful thing that here and there in this hard, uncharitable world there should still be left a few rare souls who think no evil. This is the great unworldliness. Love "thinketh no evil," imputes no motive, sees the bright side, puts the best construction on every action. What a delightful state of mind to live in! What a stimulus and benediction even to meet with it for a day! To be trusted is to be saved. And if we try to influence or elevate others, we shall soon see that success is in proportion to their belief of our belief in them. For the respect of another is the first restoration of the self-respect a man has lost; our ideal of what he is becomes to him the hope and pattern of what he may become.

"Love rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth." I have called this Sincerity from the words rendered in the Authorized Version by "rejoiceth in the truth." And, certainly, were this the real translation, nothing could be more just. For he who loves will love truth not less than men. He will rejoice in the truth — rejoice not in what he has been taught to believe; not in this church's doctrine or in that; not in this ism or in that ism; but "in the Truth." He will accept only what is real; he will strive to get at facts; he will search for truth with a humble and unbiased mind, and cherish whatever he finds at any sacrifice. But the more literal translation of the Revised Version calls for just such a sacrifice for truth's sake here. For what Paul really meant is, as we there read, "Re-

joiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth," a quality which probably no one English word — and certainly not Sincerity — adequately defines. It includes, perhaps more strictly, the self-restraint which refuses to make capital out of others' faults; the charity which delights not in exposing the weakness of others, but, "covereth all things"; the sincerity of purpose which endeavors to see things as they are, and rejoices to find them better than suspicion feared or calumny denounced.

So much for the analysis of Love. Now the business of our lives is to have these things fitted into our characters. That is the supreme work to which we need to address ourselves in this world, to learn Love. Is life not full of opportunities for learning Love? Every man and woman every day has a thousand of them. The world is not a playground; it is a schoolroom. Life is not a holiday, but an education. And the one eternal lesson for us all is how better we can love. What makes a man a good cricketer? Practice. What makes a man a good artist, a good sculptor, a good musician? Practice. What makes a man a good linguist, a good stenographer? Practice. What makes a man a good man? Practice. Nothing else. There is nothing capricious about religion. We do not get the soul in different ways, under different laws, from those in which we get the body and the mind. If a man does not exercise his arm, he develops no biceps muscle; and if a man does not exercise his soul, he acquires no muscle in his soul, no strength of character, no vigor of moral fiber, nor beauty of spiritual growth. Love is not a thing of enthusiastic emotion. It is a rich, strong, manly, vigorous expression of the whole round Christian character — the Christlike nature in its fullest development. And the constituents of this great character are only to be built up by ceaseless practice.

What was Christ doing in the carpenter's shop? Practicing. Though perfect, we read that he learned obedience, and grew in wisdom and in favor with God. Do not quarrel therefore with your lot in life. Do not complain of its never-ceasing cares, its petty environment, the vexations you have to stand, the small and sordid souls you have to live and work with. Above all, do not resent temptation; do not be perplexed because it seems to thicken round you more and more, and ceases neither for effort nor for agony nor prayer. That is your practice. That is the practice which God appoints you; and it is

having its work in making you patient, and humble, and generous, and unselfish, and kind, and courteous. Do not grudge the hand that is molding the still too shapeless image within you. It is growing more beautiful, though you see it not, and every touch of temptation may add to its perfection. Therefore keep in the midst of life. Do not isolate yourself. Be among men, and among things, and among troubles, and difficulties, and obstacles. You remember Goethe's words: "*Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille, Doch ein Charakter in dem Strom der Welt.*" (Talent develops itself in solitude; character in the stream of life.) Talent develops itself in solitude — the talent of prayer, of faith, of meditation, of seeing the unseen; character grows in the stream of the world's life. That chiefly is where men are to learn love.

How? Now, how? To make it easier, I have named a few of the elements of Love. But these are only elements. Love itself can never be defined. Light is a something more than the sum of its ingredients — a glowing, dazzling, tremulous ether. And Love is something more than all its elements — a palpitating, quivering, sensitive, living thing. By synthesis of all the colors, men can make whiteness, they cannot make light. By synthesis of all the virtues, men can make virtue, they cannot make Love. How, then, are we to have this transcendent living whole conveyed into our souls? We brace our wills to secure it. We try to copy those who have it. We lay down rules about it. We watch. We pray. But these things alone will not bring Love into our nature. Love is an effect. And only as we fulfill the right condition can we have the effect produced. Shall I tell you what the cause is?

If you turn to the Revised Version of the First Epistle of John, you will find these words: "We love because he first loved us." "We love," not "We love him." That is the way the old version has it, and it is quite wrong. "We love — because he first loved us." Look at that word "because." It is the cause of which I have spoken. "Because he first loved us," the effect follows that we love, we love him, we love all men. We cannot help it. Because he loved us, we love, we love everybody. Our heart is slowly changed. Contemplate the love of Christ, and you will love. Stand before that mirror, reflect Christ's character, and you will be changed into the same image from tenderness to tenderness. There is no other way. You cannot love to

order. You can only look at the lovely object, and fall in love with it, and grow into likeness to it. And so look at this Perfect Character, this Perfect Life. Look at the great Sacrifice as he laid down himself, all through life, and upon the Cross of Calvary, and you must love him. And loving him, you must become like him. Love begets love. It is a process of induction. Put a piece of iron in the presence of an electrified body, and that piece of iron for a time becomes electrified. It is changed into a temporary magnet in the mere presence of a permanent magnet, and as long as you leave the two side by side, they are both magnets alike. Remain side by side with him who loved us, and gave himself for us, and you, too, will become a permanent magnet, a permanently attractive force; and like him you will draw all men unto you, like him you will be drawn unto all men. That is the inevitable effect of Love. Any man who fulfills that cause must have that effect produced in him. Try to give up the idea that religion comes to us by chance, or by mystery, or by caprice. It comes to us by natural law, or by supernatural law, for all law is Divine. Edward Irving went to see a dying boy once, and when he entered the room he just put his hand on the sufferer's head, and said, "My boy, God loves you," and went away. And the boy started from his bed, and called out to the people in the house, "God loves me! God loves me!" It changed that boy. The sense that God loved him overpowered him, melted him down, and began the creating of a new heart in him. And that is how the love of God melts down the unlovely heart in man, and begets in him the new creature, who is patient and humble and gentle and unselfish. And there is no other way to get it. There is no mystery about it. We love others, we love everybody, we love our enemies, because he first loved us.

Now I have a closing sentence or two to add about Paul's reason for singling out Love as the supreme possession. It is a very remarkable reason. In a single word it is this: it lasts. "Love," urges Paul, "never faileth." Then he begins again one of his marvelous lists of the great things of the day, and exposes them one by one. He runs over the things that men thought were going to last, and shows that they are all fleeting, temporary, passing away.

"Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail." It was the mother's ambition for her boy in those days that he should

become a prophet. For hundreds of years God had never spoken by means of any prophet, and at that time the prophet was greater than the King. Men waited wistfully for another messenger to come, and hung upon his lips when he appeared as upon the very voice of God. Paul says: "Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail." This book is full of prophecies. One by one they have "failed"; that is, having been fulfilled, their work is finished; they have nothing more to do now in the world except to feed a devout man's faith.

Then Paul talks about tongues. That was another thing that was greatly coveted. "Whether there be tongues, they shall cease." As we all know, many, many centuries have passed since tongues have been known in this world. They have ceased. Take it in any sense you like. Take it, for illustration merely, as languages in general — a sense which was not in Paul's mind at all, and which, though it cannot give us the specific lesson, will point the general truth. Consider the words in which these chapters were written — Greek. It has gone. Take the Latin — the other great tongue of those days. It ceased long ago. Look at the Indian language. It is ceasing. The language of Wales, of Ireland, of the Scottish Highlands, is dying before our eyes. The most popular book in the English tongue at the present time, except the Bible, is one of Dickens's works, his 'Pickwick Papers.' It is largely written in the language of London street life, and experts assure us that in fifty years it will be unintelligible to the average English reader.

Then Paul goes further, and with even greater boldness adds: "Whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." The wisdom of the ancients, where is it? It is wholly gone. A schoolboy to-day knows more than Sir Isaac Newton knew. His knowledge has vanished away. You put yesterday's newspaper in the fire. Its knowledge has vanished away. You buy the old editions of the great encyclopædias for a few pence. Their knowledge has vanished away. Look how the coach has been superseded by the use of steam. Look how electricity has superseded that, and swept a hundred almost new inventions into oblivion. One of the greatest living authorities, Sir William Thompson, said the other day: "The steam engine is passing away." "Whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." At every workshop you will see, in the back yard, a heap of old iron, a few wheels, a few levers, a few cranks, broken and eaten with rust. Twenty

years ago that was the pride of the city. Men flocked in from the country to see the great invention; now it is superseded, its day is done. And all the boasted science and philosophy of this day will soon be old. But yesterday, in the University of Edinburgh, the greatest figure in the faculty was Sir James Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform. The other day his successor and nephew, Professor Simpson, was asked by the librarian of the University to go to the library and pick out the books on his subject that were no longer needed. And his reply to the librarian was this: "Take every text-book that is more than ten years old, and put it down in the cellar." Sir James Simpson was a great authority only a few years ago; men came from all parts of the earth to consult him; and almost the whole teaching of that time is consigned by the science of to-day to oblivion. And in every branch of science it is the same. "Now we know in part. We see through a glass darkly."

Can you tell me anything that is going to last? Many things Paul did not condescend to name. He did not mention money, fortune, fame; but he picked out the great things of his time, the things the best men thought had something in them, and brushed them peremptorily aside. Paul had no charge against these things in themselves. All he said about them was that they would not last. They were great things, but not supreme things. There were things beyond them. What we are stretches past what we do, beyond what we possess. Many things that men denounce as sins are not sins; but they are temporary. And that is a favorite argument of the New Testament. John says of the world, not that it is wrong, but simply that it "passeth away." There is a great deal in the world that is delightful and beautiful; there is a great deal in it that is great and engrossing; but it will not last. All that is in the world, the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, are but for a little while. Love not the world therefore. Nothing that it contains is worth the life and consecration of an immortal soul. The immortal soul must give itself to something that is immortal. And the only immortal things are these: "Now abideth faith, hope, love, but the greatest of these is love."

Some think the time may come when two of these three things will also pass away — faith into sight, hope into fruition. Paul does not say so. We know but little now about the conditions of the life that is to come. But what is certain is that Love must

last. God, the eternal God, is Love. Covet, therefore, that everlasting gift, that one thing which it is certain is going to stand, that one coinage which will be current in the universe when all the other coinages of all the nations of the world shall be useless and unhonored. You will give yourselves to many things, give yourself first to Love. Hold things in their proportion. Hold things in their proportion. Let at least the first great object of our lives be to achieve the character defended in these words, the character — and it is the character of Christ — which is built round Love.

I have said this thing is eternal. Did you ever notice how continually John associates love and faith with eternal life? I was not told when I was a boy that "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son that whosoever believeth in him should have everlasting life." What I was told, I remember, was, that God so loved the world that if I trusted in him I was to have a thing called peace, or I was to have rest, or I was to have joy, or I was to have safety. But I had to find out for myself that whosoever trusteth in him — that is, whosoever loveth him, for trust is only the avenue to Love — hath everlasting life. The Gospel offers a man life. Never offer men a thimbleful of Gospel. Do not offer them merely joy, or merely peace, or merely rest, or merely safety; tell them how Christ came to give men a more abundant life than they have, a life abundant in love, and therefore abundant in salvation for themselves, and large in enterprise for the alleviation and redemption of the world. Then only can the Gospel take hold of the whole of a man, body, soul, and spirit, and give to each part of his nature its exercise and reward. Many of the current Gospels are addressed only to a part of man's nature. They offer peace, not life; faith, not Love; justification, not regeneration. And men slip back again from such religion because it has never really held them. Their nature was not all in it. It offered no deeper and gladder life-current than the life that was lived before. Surely it stands to reason that only a fuller love can compete with the love of the world.

To love abundantly is to live abundantly, and to love forever is to live forever. Hence, eternal life is inextricably bound up with Love. We want to live forever for the same reason that we want to live to-morrow. Why do you want to live to-morrow? It is because there is some one who loves you, and whom you

want to see to-morrow, and be with, and love back. There is no other reason why we should live on than that we love and are beloved. It is when a man has no one to love him that he commits suicide. So long as he has friends, those who love him and whom he loves, he will live, because to live is to love. Be it but the love of a dog, it will keep him in life; but let that go and he has no contact with life, no reason to live. He dies by his own hand. Eternal life also is to know God, and God is Love. This is Christ's own definition. Ponder it. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Love must be eternal. It is what God is. On the last analysis, then, Love is life. Love never faileth, and life never faileth, so long as there is Love. That is the philosophy of what Paul is showing us; the reason why, in the nature of things, Love should be the supreme thing — because it is going to last; because, in the nature of things, it is an eternal life. It is a thing that we are living now, not that we get when we die; that we shall have a poor chance of getting when we die, unless we are living now. No worse fate can befall a man in this world than to live and grow old alone, unloving and unloved. To be lost is to live in an unregenerate condition, loveless and unloved; and to be saved is to love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth already in God. For God is Love.

Now I have all but finished. How many of you will join me in reading this chapter once a week for the next three months? A man did that once, and it changed his whole life. Will you do it? It is for the greatest thing in the world. You might begin by reading it every day, especially the verses which describe the perfect character. "Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself." Get these ingredients into your life. Then everything that you do is eternal. It is worth doing. It is worth giving time to. No man can become a saint in his sleep; and to fulfill the condition required demands a certain amount of prayer and meditation and time, just as improvement in any direction, bodily or mental, requires preparation and care. Address yourselves to that one thing; at any cost have this transcendent character exchanged for yours. You will find as you look back upon your life that the moments that stand out, the moments when you have really lived, are the moments when you have done things in a spirit of love. As memory scans the past, above and beyond all the transitory

pleasures of life, there leap forward those supreme hours when you have been enabled to do unnoticed kindnesses to those round about you, things too trifling to speak about, but which you feel have entered into your eternal life. I have seen almost all the beautiful things God has made; I have enjoyed almost every pleasure that he has planned for man; and yet as I look back I see standing out above all the life that has gone, four or five short experiences when the love of God reflected itself in some poor imitation, some small act of love of mine, and these seem to be the things which alone of all one's life abide. Everything else in all our lives is transitory. Every other good is visionary. But the acts of Love which no man knows about, or can ever know about—they never fail.

In the book of Matthew, where the Judgment Day is depicted for us in the imagery of One seated upon a throne and dividing the sheep from the goats, the test of a man then is not, "How have I believed?" but "How have I loved?" The test of religion, the final test of religion, is not religiousness, but Love. I say, the final test of religion at that great day is not religiousness, but Love; not what I have done, not what I have believed, not what I have achieved, but how I have discharged the common charities of life. Sins of commission in that awful indictment are not even referred to. By what we have not done, by sins of omission, we are judged. It could not be otherwise. For the withholding of love is the negation of the spirit of Christ, the proof that we never knew him, that for us he lived in vain. It means that he suggested nothing in all our thoughts, that he inspired nothing in all our lives, that we were not once near enough to him to be seized with the spell of his compassion for the world. It means that—

> "I lived for myself, I thought for myself,
> For myself, and none beside—
> Just as if Jesus had never lived,
> As if he had never died."

It is the Son of Man before whom the nations of the world shall be gathered. It is in the presence of Humanity that we shall be charged. And the spectacle itself, the mere sight of it, will silently judge each one. Those will be there whom we have met and helped; or there, the unpitied multitude whom we neglected or despised. No other witness need be summoned. No

other charge than lovelessness shall be preferred. Be not deceived. The words which all of us shall one day hear sound not of theology, but of life; not of churches and saints, but of the hungry and the poor; not of creeds and doctrines, but of shelter and clothing; not of Bibles and prayer-books, but of cups of cold water in the name of Christ. Thank God the Christianity of to-day is coming nearer the world's need. Live to help that on. Thank God, men know better, by a hair's breadth, what religion is, what God is, who Christ is, where Christ is. Who is Christ? He who fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited the sick. And where is Christ? Where? — whoso shall receive a little child in my name receiveth me. And who are Christ's? Every one that loveth is born of God.

PREPARATION FOR LEARNING

Before an artist can do anything, the instrument must be tuned. Our astronomers at this moment are preparing for an event which happens only once or twice in a lifetime; the total eclipse of the sun in the month of August. They have begun already. They are making preparations. At chosen stations, in different parts of the world, they are spending all the skill that science can suggest upon the construction of their instruments; and up to the last moment they will be busy adjusting them; and the last day will be the busiest of all, because then they must have the glasses and the mirrors polished to the last degree. They have to have the lenses in place and focused upon this spot before the event itself takes place.

Everything will depend upon the instruments which you bring to this experiment. Everything will depend upon it; and therefore fifteen minutes will not be lost if we each put our instrument into the best working order we can. I have spoken of lenses, and that reminds me that the instrument which we bring to bear upon truth is a compound thing. It consists of many parts. Truth is not a product of the intellect alone; it is a product of the whole nature. The body is engaged in it, and the mind, and the soul.

The body is engaged in it. Of course, a man who has his body run down, or who is dyspeptic, or melancholy, sees every-

thing black, and distorted, and untrue. But I am not going to dwell upon that. Most of you seem in pretty fair working order, so far as your bodies are concerned; only it is well to remember that we are to give our bodies a living sacrifice — not a half-dead sacrifice, as some people seem to imagine. There is no virtue in emaciation. I don't know if you have any tendency in that direction in America, but certainly we are in danger of dropping into it now and then in England, and it is just as well to bear in mind our part of the lens — a very compound and delicate lens — with which we have to take in truth.

Then comes a very important part: the intellect — which is one of the most useful servants of truth; and I need not tell you as students, that the intellect will have a great deal to do with your reception of truth. I was told that it was said at these conferences last year, that a man must crucify his intellect. I venture to contradict the gentlemen who made that statement. I am quite sure no such statement could ever have been made in your hearing — that we were to crucify our intellects. We can make no progress without the full use of all the intellectual powers that God has endowed us with.

But more important than either of these is the moral nature — the moral and spiritual nature. Some of you remember a sermon of Robertson of Brighton entitled, 'Obedience the Organ of Spiritual Knowledge.' A very startling title! — 'Obedience the Organ of Spiritual Knowledge.' The Pharisees asked about Christ: "How knoweth this man letters, never having learned?" How knoweth this man, never having learned? The organ of knowledge is not nearly so much mind as the organ that Christ used, namely, obedience; and that was the organ which he himself insisted upon when he said: "He that willeth to do his will shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." You have all noticed, of course, that the words in the original are: "If any man will to do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." It doesn't read: "If any do his will," which no man can do perfectly; but if any man be simply willing to do his will, — if he has an absolutely undivided mind about it, — that man will know what truth is and know what falsehood is; a stranger will he not follow. And that is by far the best source of spiritual knowledge on every account — obedience to God — absolute sincerity and loyalty in following Christ. "If any man do his will, he shall know" — a very remarkable association of knowledge, a thing which is

usually considered quite intellectual, with obedience, which is moral and spiritual.

But even although we use all these three different parts of the instrument, we have not at all got at the complete method of learning. There is a little preliminary that the astronomer has to do before he can make his observation. He has to take the cap off his telescope. Many a man thinks he is looking at truth when he is only looking at the cap. Many a time I have looked down my microscope and thought I was looking at the diatom for which I had long been searching, and found I had simply been looking at a speck of dust upon the lens itself. Many a man thinks he is looking at truth, when he is only looking at the spectacles he has put on to see it with. He is looking at his own spectacles. Now, the common spectacles that a man puts on,—I suppose the creed in which he has been brought up,—if a man looks at that, let him remember that he is not looking at truth; he is looking at his own spectacles. There is no more important lesson that we have to carry with us than that truth is not to be found in what I have been taught. That is not truth. Truth is not what I have been taught. If it were so, that would apply to the Mormon, it would apply to the Brahman, it would apply to the Buddhist. Truth would be to everybody just what he had been taught. Therefore, let us dismiss from our minds the predisposition to regard that which we have been brought up in as being necessarily the truth. I must say it is very hard to shake oneself free altogether from that. I suppose it is impossible.

But you see the reasonableness of giving up that as your view of truth when you come to apply it all around. If that were the definition of truth, truth would be just what one's parents were—it would be a thing of hereditary transmission and not a thing absolute in itself. Now, let me venture to ask you to take that cap off. Take that cap off now and make up your minds you are going to look at truth naked—in its reality, as it is, not as it is reflected through other minds, or through any theology, however venerable.

Then there is one thing I think we must be careful about, and that is, besides having the cap off and having all the lenses clean and in position, to have the instrument rightly focused. Everything may be right, and yet when you go and look at the object, you see things altogether falsely. You see things not

only blurred, but you see things out of proportion. And there is nothing more important we have to bear in mind in running our eye over successive theological truths, or religious truths, than that there is a proportion in those truths, and that we must see them in their proportion, or we see them falsely. A man may take a dollar or a half-dollar and hold it to his eye so closely that he will hide the sun from him. Or he may so focus his telescope that a fly or a bowlder may be as large as a mountain. A man may hold a certain doctrine very intensely — a doctrine which has been looming upon his horizon for the last six months, let us say, and which has thrown everything else out of proportion, it has become so big itself. Now, let us beware of distortion in the arrangement of the religious truths which we hold. It is almost impossible to get things in their true proportion and symmetry, but this is the thing we must be constantly aiming at. We are told in the Bible to "add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge balance," as the word literally means — "balance." It is a word taken from the orchestra, where all the parts — the sopranos, the basses, the altos, and the tenors, and all the rest of them — must be regulated. If you have too much of the bass, or too much of the soprano, there is want of harmony. That is what I mean by the want of proper focus — by the want of proper balance — in the truths which we all hold. It will never do to exaggerate one truth at the expense of another, and a truth may be turned into a falsehood very, very easily, by simply being either too much enlarged or too much diminished. I once heard of some blind men who were taken to see a menagerie. They had gone around the animals, and four of them were allowed to touch an elephant as they went past. They were discussing afterward what kind of a creature the elephant was. One man, who had touched its tail, said the elephant was like a rope. Another of the blind men, who had touched his hind limb, said: "No such thing! the elephant is like the trunk of a tree." Another, who had felt its sides, said: "That is all rubbish. An elephant is a thing like a wall." And the fourth, who had felt its ear, said that an elephant was like none of those things; it was like a leather bag. Now, men look at truth at different bits of it, and they see different things, of course, and they are very apt to imagine that the thing which they have seen is the whole affair — the whole thing. In reality, we can only see a very little bit at a time,

and we must, I think, learn to believe that other men can see bits of truth as well as ourselves. Your views are just what you see with your own eyes; and my views are just what I see; and what I see depends on just where I stand, and what you see depends on just where you stand; and truth is very much bigger than an elephant, and we are very much blinder than any of those blind men, as we come to look at it.

Christ has made us aware that it is quite possible for a man to have ears and hear nothing, and to have eyes and see not. One of the Disciples saw a great deal of Christ, and he never knew him. "Have I been so long time with you, Philip, and yet hast thou not known me?" "He that hath seen me hath seen the father also." Philip had never seen him. He had been looking at his own spectacles, perhaps, or at something else, and had never seen him. If the instrument had been in order, he would have seen Christ. And I would just add this one thing more: the test of value of the different verities of truth depends upon one thing: whether they have or have not a sanctifying power. That is another remarkable association in the mind of Christ — of sanctification with truth — thinking and holiness — not to be found in any of the sciences or in any of the philosophies. It is peculiar to the Bible. Christ said, "Sanctify them through thy truth. Thy Word is truth." Now, the value of any question — the value of any theological question — depends upon whether it has a sanctifying influence. If it has not, don't bother about it. Don't let it disturb your minds until you have exhausted all truths that have sanctification within them. If a truth make a man a better man, then let him focus his instrument upon it and get all the acquaintance with it he can. If it is the profane babbling of science, falsely so called, or anything that has an injurious effect upon the moral and spiritual nature of a man, it is better let alone. And above all, let us remember to hold the truth in love. That is the most sanctifying influence of all. And if we can carry away the mere lessons of toleration, and leave behind us our censoriousness, and criticalness, and harsh judgments upon one another, and excommunicating of everybody except those who think exactly as we do, the time we shall spend here will not be the least useful parts of our lives.

A TALK ON BOOKS

(An Address Delivered in New York City in 1887)

MY OBJECT at this time is to give encouragement and help to the "duffers," the class of "hopeful duffers." Brilliant students have every help, but second-class students are sometimes neglected and disheartened. I have great sympathy "with the duffers," because I was only a second-rate student myself. The subject of my talk with you is 'Books.'

A gentleman in Scotland, who has an excellent library, has placed on one side of the room his heavy sombre tomes, and over those shelves the form of an owl. On the other side of the room are arranged the lighter books, and over these is the figure of a bird known in Scotland as "the dipper." This is a most sensible division. The "owl books" are to be mastered,—the great books, such as Gibbon's 'Rome,' Butler's 'Analogy,' Dorner's 'Person of Christ,' and text-books of philosophy and science. Every student should master one or two, at least, of such "owl books," to exercise his faculties, and give him concentrativeness. I do not intend to linger at this side of the library, but will cross over to the "dipper books," which are for occasional reading — for stimulus, for guidance, recreation. I will be autobiographical.

When I was a student in lodgings, I began to form a library, which I arranged along the mantelshelf of my room. It did not contain many books; but it held as many as some students could afford to purchase, and, if wisely chosen, as many as one could well use. My first purchase was a volume of extracts from Ruskin's works, which then, in their complete form, were very costly. Ruskin taught me to use my eyes. Men are born blind as bats or kittens, and it is long before men's eyes are opened; some men never learn to see as long as they live. I often wondered, if there was a Creator, why he had not made the world more beautiful. Would not crimson and scarlet colors have been far richer than green and brown? But Ruskin taught me to see the world as it is, and it soon became a new world to me, full of charm and loveliness. Now I can linger beside a ploughed field and revel in the affluence of color and shade which are to be seen in the newly-turned furrows, and I gaze in wonder at the liquid amber of the two feet of air above the brown earth.

Now the colors and shades of the woods are a delight, and at every turn my eyes are surprised at fresh charms. The rock which I had supposed to be naked I saw clothed with lichens — patches of color — marvelous organisms, frail as the ash of a cigar, thin as brown paper, yet growing and fructifying in spite of wind and rain, of scorching sun and biting frost. I owe much to Ruskin for teaching me to see.

Next on my mantelshelf was Emerson. I discovered Emerson for myself. When I asked what Emerson was, one authority pronounced him a great man; another as confidently wrote him down a humbug. So I silently stuck to Emerson. Carlyle I could not read. After wading through a page of Carlyle, I felt as if I had been whipped. Carlyle scolded too much for my taste, and he seemed to me a great man gone delirious. But in Emerson I found what I would fain have sought in Carlyle; and, moreover, I was soothed and helped. Emerson taught me to see with the mind.

Next on my shelf came two or three volumes of George Eliot's works, from which I gained some knowledge and a further insight into many philosophical and social questions. But my chief debt to George Eliot at that time was that she introduced me to pleasant characters,— nice people, and especially to one imaginary young lady whom I was in love with one whole winter, and it diverted my mind in solitude. A good novel is a valuable acquisition, and it supplies companionship of a pleasant kind.

Amongst my small residue of books, I must name Channing's works. Before I read Channing I doubted whether there was a God; at least I would rather have believed that there was no God. After becoming acquainted with Channing, I could believe there was a God, and I was glad to believe in him, for I felt drawn to the good and gracious Sovereign of all things. Still, I needed further what I found in F. W. Robertson, the British officer in the pulpit,— bravest, truest of men,— who dared to speak what he believed at all hazards. From Robertson I learned that God is human; that we may have fellowship with him because he sympathizes with us.

One day as I was looking over my mantelshelf library, it suddenly struck me that all these authors of mine were heretics — these were dangerous books. Undesignedly I had found stimulus and help from teachers who were not credited by orthodoxy.

And I have since found that much of the good to be got from books is to be gained from authors often classed as dangerous, for these provoke inquiry and exercise one's powers. Towards the end of my shelf I had one or two humorous works, chief amongst them all being Mark Twain. His humor is peculiar; broad exaggeration, a sly simplicity, comical situations, and surprising turns of expression; but to me it has been a genuine fund of humor. The humorous side of a student's nature needs to be considered, and where it is undeveloped it should be cultivated. I have known many instances of good students who seemed to have no sense of humor.

I will not recommend any of my favorite books to another; they have done me good, but they might not suit another man. Every man must discover his own books; but when he has found what fits in with his tastes, what stimulates him to thought, what supplies a want in his nature, and exalts him in conception and feelings, that is the book for the student, be it what it may. This brings me to speak of the friendship of books.

To fall in love with a good book is one of the greatest events that can befall us. It is to have a new influence pouring itself into our life, a new teacher to inspire and refine us, a new friend to be by our side always, who, when life grows narrow and weary, will take us into his wider and calmer and higher world. Whether it be biography, introducing us to some humble life made great by duty done; or history, opening vistas into the movements and destinies of nations that have passed away; or poetry, making music of all the common things around us, and filling the fields, and the skies, and the work of the city and the cottage, with eternal meanings — whether it be these, or story books, or religious books, or science, no one can become the friend even of one good book without being made wiser and better. Do not think I am going to recommend any such book to you. The beauty of a friend is that we discover him. And we must each taste the books that are accessible to us for ourselves. Do not be disheartened at first if you like none of them. That is possibly their fault, not yours. But search and search till you find what you like. In amazingly cheap form,— for a few pence indeed,— almost all the best books are now to be had; and I think every one owes it as a sacred duty to his mind to start a little library of his own. How much do we not do for our bodies? How much thought and money do they not cost

us? And shall we not think a little, and pay a little, for the clothing and adorning of the imperishable mind? This private library may begin, perhaps, with a single volume, and grow at the rate of one or two a year; but these, well-chosen and well-mastered, will become such a fountain of strength and wisdom that each shall be eager to add to his store. A dozen books accumulated in this way may be better than a whole library. Do not be distressed if you do not like time-honored books, or classical works, or recommended books. Choose for yourself; trust yourself; plant yourself on your own instincts; that which is natural for us, that which nourishes us, and gives us appetite, is that which is right for us. We have all different minds, and we are all at different stages of growth. Some other day we may find food in the recommended book, though we should possibly starve on it to-day. The mind develops and changes, and the favorities of this year, also, may one day cease to interest us. Nothing better, indeed, can happen to us than to lose interest in a book we have often read; for it means that it has done its work upon us, and brought us up to its level, and taught us all it had to teach.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT

(1752–1817)

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, inherited his ability as an orator and writer. He was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, May 14th, 1752. Educated for the Congregational ministry, he rose to great eminence as an author, preacher, and educator. He was President of Yale College from 1795 to 1817, dying at New Haven, Connecticut, January 11th of the latter year. In addition to theological works and a book of travels, he wrote several poems.

THE PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE

(From a Sermon on the Sovereignty of God, Jeremiah x. 23)

HUMAN life is ordinarily little else than a collection of disappointments. Rarely is the life of man such as he designs it shall be. Often do we fail of pursuing at all the business originally in our view. The intentional farmer becomes a mechanic, a seaman, a merchant, a lawyer, a physician, or a divine. The very place of settlement, and of residence through life, is often different and distant from that which was originally contemplated. Still more different is the success which follows our efforts. . . .

A principal design of the mind in laboring for these things is to become superior to others. But almost all rich men are obliged to see, and usually with no small anguish, others richer than themselves; honorable men, others more honorable; voluptuous men, others who enjoy more pleasure. The great end of the strife is therefore unobtained, and the happiness expected never found. Even the successful competitor in the race utterly misses his aim. The real enjoyment existed, although it was unperceived by him, in the mere strife for superiority. When he has outstripped all his rivals, the contest is at an end, and his spirits, which were invigorated only by contending, languish for want of a competitor.

Besides, the happiness in view was only the indulgence of pride, or mere animal pleasure. Neither of these can satisfy or endure. A rational mind may be, and often is, so narrow and groveling, as not to aim at any higher good, to understand its nature, or to believe its existence. Still, in its original constitution, it was formed with a capacity for intellectual and moral good, and was destined to find in this good its only satisfaction. Hence, no inferior good will fill its capacity or its desires. Nor can this bent of its nature ever be altered. Whatever other enjoyment, therefore, it may attain, it will, without this, still crave and still be unhappy. . . .

There are two modes in which men seek happiness in the enjoyments of the present world. "Most persons freely indulge their wishes, and intend to find objects sufficient in number and value to satisfy them." A few "aim at satisfaction by proportioning their desires to the number and measures of their probable gratifications." . . . Desires indulged grow faster and further than gratifications extend. Ungratified desire is misery. Expectations eagerly indulged and terminated by disappointment are often exquisite misery. But how frequently are expectations raised only to be disappointed, and desires let loose, only to terminate in distress! The child pines for a toy; the moment he possesses it he throws it by, and cries for another. When they are piled up in heaps around him, he looks at them without pleasure, and leaves them without regret. He knew not that all the good which they could yield lay in expectation, nor that his wishes for more would increase faster than toys could be multiplied, and is unhappy at last for the same reason as at first; his wishes are ungratified. Still indulging them and still believing that the gratification of them will furnish the enjoyment for which he pines, he goes on, only to be unhappy.

Men are merely taller children. Honor, wealth, and splendor are the toys for which grown children pine; but which, however accumulated, leave them still disappointed and unhappy. God never designed that intelligent beings should be satisfied with these enjoyments. By his wisdom and goodness they were formed to derive their happiness from virtue.

Moderated desires constitute a character fitted to acquire all the good which this world can yield. He, who is prepared, in whatever situation he is, therewith to be content, has learned effectually the science of being happy, and possesses the alchymic stone,

which will change every metal into gold. Such a man will smile upon a stool, while Alexander at his side sits weeping on the throne of the world.

The doctrine of the text teaches you irresistibly that, since you cannot command gratifications, you should command your desires, and that, as the events of life do not accord with your wishes, your wishes should accord with them. Multiplied enjoyments fall to but few men, and are no more rationally expected than the highest prize in a lottery. But a well-regulated mind, a dignified independence of the world, and a wise preparation to possess one's soul in patience, whatever circumstances may exist, is in the power of every man, and is greater wealth than that of both Indies, and greater honor than Cæsar ever acquired. . . .

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS

(1828)

For many years Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, was recognized as the best constitutional lawyer on the Republican side of the Senate chamber, and his presentation of the Constitutional Principles of the Electoral Commission was generally accepted as an authoritative expression of the views of his party. He was born at Richmond, Vermont, February 1st, 1828. Elected to the Senate in 1866, he held his place until 1891, and he might have held it indefinitely had he not preferred to retire. He was the author of the Edmunds Bill abolishing polygamy, and was, perhaps, more prominently identified with that measure than with any other, though he was largely instrumental in the settlement of the contested election of 1876, and was a member of the Electoral Commission.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

(From a Speech Delivered in the United States Senate, January 20th, 1877)

To do an act which the Constitution commands is one thing; to decide a dispute is an entirely different thing. Whatever the Constitution commands, you are to do. Whatever the Constitution commands the Executive, he is to do. Whatever the Constitution authorizes to be decided, the Judiciary, or some other tribunal fixed by law or by the Constitution itself, is to decide. Those are the only three ways in which Government can express itself. So that whatever you are to do, whatever the claims at the other end of the Capitol may be that they have a right to do, whatever the Vice-President may say that he has a right to do under the Constitution when the President has not been elected, whatever you, the President of the Senate, have a right to do when both of them are unable to perform the duties of their office, there still remains behind it all, in the very essence of government, the necessity of having a power that binds you all at the same time to determine when and under what circumstances each of you shall bring your forces

into play; and as the Constitution has not fixed that tribunal, it has declared that Congress shall pass every law which shall carry into execution every power that is vested anywhere in the Government.

The question may be asked, Why did not the Constitution say so, then? It did not say so because after having defined the range of powers and their nature for every department of the Government, commanded what should be done, it left, as all constitutions in all civilized governments everywhere have done and must do forever, to the law-making power from time to time to carry all these great powers into effect by the regular measure of legislative procedure. I can scarcely state that so well — I am sure I cannot — as it is stated by the Supreme Court of the United States itself more than sixty years ago, when, just as now, and just as always in governments, there arise great disputes touching the powers of government. This was a question of State rights, of the right of the Supreme Court of the United States to disregard and set aside the judgment of the supreme court of the great State of Virginia; and when arguments similar to those that I have been putting forward as what might be suggested against this bill and about the language of the Constitution were made, the court answered them in this way: —

"The Constitution, unavoidably, deals in general language. It did not suit the purposes of the people, in framing this great charter of our liberties, to provide for minute specifications of its powers, or to declare the means by which those powers should be carried into execution —

Mark the words, Mr. President — "or to declare the means by which those powers should be carried into execution."

"It was foreseen that this would be a perilous and difficult, if not impracticable task. The instrument was not intended to provide merely for the exigencies of a few years, but was to endure through a long lapse of ages, the events of which were locked up in the inscrutable purposes of Providence. It could not be foreseen what new changes and modifications of power might be indispensable to effectuate the general objects of the charter; and restrictions and specifications, which at the present might seem salutary, might, in the end, prove the overthrow of the system itself. Hence, its powers are expressed in general terms, leaving to the Legislature, from time to time, to adopt its own means to effectuate legitimate objects, and

to mold and model the exercise of its powers, as its own wisdom and the public interests should require."—Martin *versus* Hunter's Lessee, 1 Wheaton 326.

If there is any one principle of constitutional law that is settled as deep as the foundations of the Government itself, it is that which I have just read. There is scarcely one, in fact I only remember one provision of the Constitution of the United States, that has been said to execute itself, and for which it was not necessary or proper that there should not be the provisions of legislation to carry it into effect and to regulate the methods and manners by which results should be arrived at. I believe it was said in the case of Prigg *versus* The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, on the subject of fugitive slaves, that as the Constitution recognized a slave as property and as the fugitive clause in the Constitution gave the master the right to his property if it should have escaped from him, that clause in the Constitution did execute itself, so far as the right of the master was concerned, to recapture his property anywhere he could find it, if he could do so without violence and without a breach of the peace. That was put upon the ground that it was simply a recognition of the right of property, just as at the common law, as under the laws of most of the States, no doubt, a man would be entitled, if he could do it without violence or a breach of the peace, to recapture his children or his wife who were illegally detained from him. But beyond that I say I know of no instance in this wide variety of powers, legislative, executive, and judicial, anywhere, where there is not the fit necessity for legislative action to regulate and carry on the great objects of the exertion of the powers that are not by implication, but expressly, vested in some one of the departments of the Government; and even in that case to which I have alluded, where the court said that the Constitution did execute itself, they nevertheless held that that also was the proper subject of legislative action of Congress, and that Congress might regulate, as it had regulated, the manner in which and the means by which the owner of the slave should assert his right to his property. The President of the United States, by the express language of the Constitution, is the Commander-in-Chief of the armies and navies of the Republic; and yet from the beginning until now, without question by anybody as to the constitutional propriety of such legislation,

the manner in which and the means by which he shall exercise the power of Commander-in-Chief of the Army has been regulated by law. The Constitution of the United States vests judicial powers in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as Congress from time to time may establish; and yet one of the very first acts that the Congress under this Constitution ever passed was an act that regulated and guided and controlled, from top to bottom, the exercise of those powers that were clearly and expressly delegated to the judicial branch; and no man ever suspected that Congress was exceeding its power in providing by law for the means and the ways of the performance of the great judicial functions — which, least of all, it would be safe for a republic to permit to be unduly meddled with.

So, Mr. President, it does appear to us, without my enlarging upon this branch of the discussion, and for the very few reasons that I have so feebly stated, that the idea that this bill can be assailed as an unconstitutional measure, even if you say that the Constitution has vested the power of performing the executive or ministerial function of counting the votes which the Constitution says the person having the greatest number of shall be President, is not at all maintainable. You have only done in this bill what in respect to every other branch of the Government, and for all time, year by year, you have been daily doing with the acceptance of everybody. It only provides for ascertaining in a regular and lawful way what is the subject upon which this executive function of counting the vote, finding out who has the highest number, rests. It might be contended with considerable force, even if the duty, as far as I have heard it claimed for you, Mr. President, rested in that chair, that we have only furnished you the means of justly performing that duty; and that would be true unless it should be contended that the Constitution had reposed in you the functions of Congress and of the Judiciary to hear, try, and determine all questions of law and fact once for all, as in a given case whether you should be President of the United States or not. If the pretension goes as far as that, of course this bill is against it. But if it only goes to the point that you are to exercise a commanded ministerial duty of counting a vote, then upon the principles that I have stated it would be entirely competent, and the absolute duty of Congress to provide you a means of finding out what is the vote that you are to count, and compelling you, as it does courts, presidents, everybody, to follow

the judgment of whatever tribunal should have ascertained that fact for you, because it is only an act which you are to do, not a decision that you are to render. . . . .

So, then, Mr. President, it cannot be maintained that this bill is unconstitutional upon the ground that it takes away from the President of the Senate or the House of Representatives a power which the Constitution has vested in them free from limit and free from guide, and free from regulation, to be exercised according to their own opinion of what may be the public propriety of the occasion.

Having said so much, Mr. President, for the present, I dismiss the subject, in the hope that the Senate will carefully consider whether it is wise, by stimulating doubts in their own minds, or by allowing their wishes to outrun their judgment, to send this Republic on the first Thursday in February, or the second Wednesday in that month, like the mountains that the poet has spoken of that were —

« Toppling evermore
Into seas without a shore,»

or whether it is better that in the fair course of equal law a dispute shall be justly settled.

JONATHAN EDWARDS

(1703–1758)

T is said that when Jonathan Edwards preached his sermon, 'Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,' the hearers "groaned and shrieked convulsively," and that their outcries drowned the preacher's voice. At the climax of the discourse, a brother clergyman, no longer able to restrain himself, cried out: "Mr. Edwards, Mr. Edwards, is not God merciful, too?"

That question has been asked ever since, by all readers of Edwards's sermons. The last words the great painter of "hell-torments" ever uttered on earth were: "Trust in God, and ye need not fear!" But this dying message to the world did not break the force of such sermons as have made him one of the great revolutionary forces of modern theology. The reaction against his ideas, which set in during his life, became especially strong in New England, but perhaps it never reached its climax until Mivart wrote his celebrated disquisition on 'Happiness in Hell.' Dante saw in justice and "primal love" the necessity for a terrible punishment for those who wrong and oppress the helpless. With the same thought and scarcely an inferior eloquence, the great Puritan preacher depicts the horrors of the Inferno which it seemed to him was inevitable for all who stubbornly invited retribution.

Jonathan Edwards was born at East Windsor, Connecticut, October 5th, 1703. His father was a minister of the Gospel, and it is said of his mother that she was a philosopher and metaphysician without knowing it. From her and from John Locke, whose works he read when a boy, Jonathan Edwards acquired the logical faculty which is so strikingly apparent in his discourses. He graduated at Yale College before he was seventeen years old, and soon afterwards began the career as a preacher and teacher which immortalized him. The work for which he is most celebrated was done in New England, but in 1758 he became President of Princeton College, and died there March 22d of the same year. One of his biographers says of him:—

"As a preacher Edwards has been rarely, if ever, excelled since the days of the Apostles. His manner was not oratorical, and his voice was feeble; but this was of little account with so much directness and richness of thought, and such overwhelming power of argument, pressed home upon the conscience and the heart. In vain did any one attempt to escape from falling a prey under

his mighty appeal. It was in the application of his subject that he specially excelled. The part of the sermon before this was only preparatory. Here was the stretching out of the arms of the discourse, to borrow a figure, upon the hearts and lives of his audience. 'It was a kind of moral inquisition; and sinners were put upon argumentative racks, and beneath screws, and, with an awful revolution of the great truth in hand, evenly and steadily screwed down and crushed.'"

ETERNITY OF HELL TORMENTS

(From a Sermon Preached from the Text, "These shall go away into everlasting punishment," Matthew xxv. 46)

BE ENTREATED to consider attentively how great and awful a thing eternity is. Although you cannot comprehend it the more by considering, yet you may be made more sensible that it is not a thing to be disregarded. Do but consider what it is to suffer extreme torment forever and ever; to suffer it day and night, from one day to another, from one year to another, from one age to another, from one thousand ages to another, and so adding age to age and thousands to thousands, in pain, in wailing and lamenting, groaning and shrieking, and gnashing your teeth; with your souls full of dreadful grief and amazement, with your bodies and every member full of racking torture, without any possibility of getting ease; without any possibility of moving God to pity by your cries; without any possibility of hiding yourselves from him; without any possibility of diverting your thoughts from your pain; without any possibility of obtaining any manner of mitigation, or help, or change for the better any way.

Do but consider how dreadful despair will be in such torment. How dismal will it be, when you are under these racking torments, to know assuredly that you never, never shall be delivered from them; to have no hope: when you shall wish that you might be turned into nothing, but shall have no hope of it; when you shall wish that you might be turned into a toad or a serpent, but shall have no hope of it; when you would rejoice, if you might but have any relief, after you shall have endured these torments millions of ages, but shall have no hope of it; when after you shall have worn out the age of the sun, moon, and stars, in your dolorous groans and lamentations, without

any rest day or night, or one minute's ease, yet you shall have no hope of ever being delivered; when after you shall have worn out a thousand more such ages, yet you shall have no hope, but shall know that you are not one whit nearer to the end of your torments, but that still there are the same groans, the same shrieks, the same doleful cries, incessantly to be made by you, and that the smoke of your torment shall still ascend up forever and ever, and that your souls, which shall have been agitated with the wrath of God all this while, yet will still exist to bear more wrath; your bodies, which shall have been roasting and burning all this while in these glowing flames, yet shall not have been consumed, but will remain to roast through an eternity yet, which will not have been at all shortened by what shall have been past.

You may, by considering, make yourselves more sensible than you ordinarily are; but it is a little you can conceive of what it is to have no hope in such torments.

How sinking would it be to you to endure such pain as you have felt in this world without any hopes, and to know that you never should be delivered from it, nor have one minute's rest! You can now scarcely conceive how doleful that would be. How much more to endure the vast weight of the wrath of God without hope! The more the damned in hell think of the eternity of their torments, the more amazing will it appear to them; and alas! they are not able to avoid thinking of it, they will not be able to keep it out of their minds. Their tortures will not divert them from it, but will fix their attention to it. Oh, how dreadful will eternity appear to them after they shall have been thinking on it for ages together, and shall have had so long an experience of their torments! The damned in hell will have two infinites perpetually to amaze them and swallow them up; one is an infinite God, whose wrath they will bear, and in whom they will behold their perfect and irreconcilable enemy. The other is the infinite duration of their torment.

If it were possible for the damned in hell to have a comprehensive knowledge of eternity, their sorrow and grief would be infinite in degree. The comprehensive view of so much sorrow which they must endure would cause infinite grief for the present. Though they will not have a comprehensive knowledge of it, yet they will doubtless have a vastly more lively and strong

apprehension of it than we can have in this world. Their torments will give them an impression of it. A man in his present state, without any enlargement of his capacity, would have a vastly more lively impression of eternity than he has if he were only under some pretty sharp pain in some member of his body, and were at the same time assured that he must endure that pain forever. His pain would give him a greater sense of eternity than other men have. How much more will those excruciating torments which the damned will suffer have this effect!

Besides, their capacity will probably be enlarged, their understandings will be quicker and stronger in a future state; and God can give them as great a sense and as strong an impression of eternity as he pleases, to increase their grief and torment.

Oh, be entreated, ye that are in a Christless state and are going on in a way to hell, that are daily exposed to damnation, to consider these things. If you do not, it will surely be but a little while before you will experience them, and then you will know how dreadful it is to despair in hell; and it may be before this year or this month or this week is at an end; before another Sabbath, or ever you shall have the opportunity to hear another sermon.

WRATH UPON THE WICKED TO THE UTTERMOST

(From a Sermon on 1 Thessalonians ii. 16)

WHEN those that continue in sin shall have filled up the measure of their sin, then wrath will come upon them to the uttermost.

There is a certain measure that God hath set to the sin of every wicked man. God says concerning the sin of man, as he says to the raging waves of the sea, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further." The measure of some is much greater than of others. Some reprobates commit but a little sin in comparison with others, and so are to endure proportionably a smaller punishment. There are many vessels of wrath; but some are smaller, and others greater vessels; some will contain comparatively but little wrath, others a greater measure of it. Sometimes, when we see men go to dreadful lengths, and become very heinously wicked, we are ready to wonder that God lets them

alone. He sees them go on in such audacious wickedness, and keeps silence, nor does anything to interrupt them, but they go smoothly on, and meet with no hurt. But sometimes the reason why God lets them alone is, because they have not filled up the measure of their sins. When they live in dreadful wickedness, they are but filling up the measure which God hath limited for them. This is sometimes the reason why God suffers very wicked men to live so long; because their iniquity is not full. "The iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." For this reason, also, God sometimes suffers them to live in prosperity. Their prosperity is a snare to them, and an occasion of their sinning a great deal more. Wherefore God suffers them to have such a snare, because he suffers them to fill up a larger measure. So, for this cause, he sometimes suffers them to live under great light, and great means and advantages, at the same time to neglect and misimprove all. Every one shall live till he hath filled up his measure.

While men continue in sin, they are filling the measure set them. This is the work in which they spend their whole lives; they begin in their childhood; and, if they live to grow old in sin, they still go on with this work. It is the work with which every day is filled up. They may alter their business in other respects; they may sometimes be about one thing, and sometimes about another; but they never change from this work of filling up the measure of their sins. Whatever they put their hands to, they are still employed in this work. This is the first thing that they set themselves about when they awake in the morning, and the last thing they do at night. They are all the while treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous judgment of God. It is a gross mistake of some natural men, who think that when they read and pray they do not add to their sins, but, on the contrary, think they diminish their guilt by these exercises. They think that, instead of adding to their sins, they do something to satisfy for their past offenses; but, instead of that, they do but add to the measure by their best prayers, and by those services with which they themselves are most pleased.

When once the measure of their sins is filled up, then wrath will come upon them to the uttermost. God will then wait no longer upon them. Wicked men think that God is altogether

such an one as themselves, because, when they commit such wickedness, he keeps silence. "Because judgment against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the children of men is fully set in them to do evil." But when once they shall have filled up the measure of their sins, judgment will be executed; God will not bear with them any longer. Now is the day of grace, and the day of patience, which they spend in filling up their sins; but when their sins shall be full, then will come the day of wrath, the day of the fierce anger of God. God often executes his wrath on ungodly men in a less degree, in this world. He sometimes brings afflictions upon them, and that in wrath. Sometimes he expresses his wrath in very sore judgments; sometimes he appears in a terrible manner, not only outwardly, but also in the inward expressions of it on their consciences. Some, before they died, have had the wrath of God inflicted on their souls in degrees that have been intolerable. But these things are only forerunners of their punishment, only slight foretastes of wrath. God never stirs up all his wrath against wicked men while in this world; but when once wicked men shall have filled up the measure of their sins, then wrath will come upon them to the uttermost; and that in the following respects.

Wrath will come upon them without any restraint or moderation in the degree of it. God doth always lay, as it were, a restraint upon himself; he doth not stir up his wrath; he stays his rough wind in the day of his east wind; he lets not his arm light down on wicked men with its full weight. But when sinners shall have filled up the measure of their sins, there will be no caution, no restraint. His rough wind will not be stayed nor moderated. The wrath of God will be poured out like fire. He will come forth, not only in anger, but in the fierceness of his anger; he will execute wrath with power, so as to show what his wrath is, and make his power known. There will be nothing to alleviate his wrath; his heavy wrath will lie on them, without anything to lighten the burthen, or to keep off, in any measure, the full weight of it from pressing the soul. His eye will not spare, neither will he regard the sinner's cries and lamentations, however loud and bitter. Then shall wicked men know that God is the Lord; they shall know how great that majesty is which they have despised, and how dreadful that threatened wrath is which

they have so little regarded. Then shall come on wicked men that punishment which they deserve. God will exact of them the uttermost farthing. Their iniquities are marked before him; they are all written in his book; and in the future world he will reckon with them, and they must pay all the debt. Their sins are laid up in store with God; they are sealed up among his treasures; and them he will recompense, even recompense into their bosoms. The consummate degree of punishment will not be executed till the day of judgment; but the wicked are sealed over to this consummate punishment immediately after death; they are cast into hell, and there bound in chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day, and they know that the highest degree of punishment is coming upon them.

SINNERS IN THE HANDS OF AN ANGRY GOD

(From a Sermon on Deuteronomy xxxii. 35, Preached at Enfield, Connecticut, July 8th, 1741)

THE God that holds you over the pit of hell much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked; his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear you in his sight; you are ten thousand times as abominable in his eyes as the most hateful and venomous serpent is in ours. You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince, and yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment; it is abscribed to nothing else that you did not go to hell the last night that you were suffered to awake again in this world, after you closed your eyes to sleep; and there is no other reason to be given why you have not dropped into hell since you arose in the morning, but that God's hand has held you up; there is no other reason to be given why you have not gone to hell, since you have sat here in the house of God provoking his pure eye by your sinful, wicked manner of attending his solemn worship; yea, there is nothing else that is to be given as a reason why you do not this very moment drop down into hell.

O sinner! consider the fearful danger you are in; it is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of

wrath that you are held over in the hands of that God whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you as against many of the damned in hell; you hang by a slender thread, with the flames of Divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder, and you have no interest in any mediator, and nothing to lay hold of to save yourself, nothing to keep off the flames of wrath, nothing of your own, nothing that you have ever done, nothing that you can do to induce God to spare you one moment. . . .

It would be dreadful to suffer this fierceness and wrath of Almighty God one moment; but you must suffer it to all eternity: there will be no end to this exquisite, horrible misery; when you look forward, you shall see along forever a boundless duration before you, which will swallow up your thoughts, and amaze your soul; and you will absolutely despair of ever having any deliverance, any end, any mitigation, any rest at all; you will know certainly that you must wear out long ages, millions of millions of ages in wrestling and conflicting with this Almighty, merciless vengeance; and then when you have so done, when so many ages have actually been spent by you in this manner, you will know that all is but a point to what remains, so that your punishment will indeed be infinite. Oh! who can express what the state of a soul in such circumstances is! All that we can possibly say about it gives but a very feeble, faint representation of it; it is inexpressible and inconceivable: for "who knows the power of God's anger!"

How dreadful is the state of those that are daily and hourly in danger of this great wrath and infinite misery! But this is the dismal case of every soul in this congregation that has not been born again, however moral and strict, sober and religious they may otherwise be. Oh! that you would consider it, whether you be young or old! There is reason to think that there are many in this congregation now hearing this discourse, that will actually be the subjects of this very misery to all eternity. We know not who they are, or in what seats they sit, or what thoughts they now have — it may be they are now at ease, and hear all these things without much disturbance, and are now flattering themselves that they are not the persons, promising themselves that they shall escape. If we knew that there was one person, and but one, in the whole congregation, that was to

be the subject of this misery, what an awful thing it would be to think of! If we knew who it was, what an awful sight it would be to see such a person! How might all the rest of the congregation lift up a lamentable and bitter cry over him! But, alas! instead of one, how many is it likely will remember this discourse in hell! And it would be a wonder, if some that are now present should not be in hell in a very short time, before this year is out. And it would be no wonder if some persons that now sit here in some seats of this meetinghouse, in health, and quiet and secure, should be there before to-morrow morning!

SIR JOHN ELIOT

(1592–1632)

THE 'Petition of Right' adopted by the English Parliament in 1628 is one of the great landmarks of modern history. It declared the sovereignty of the people represented in Parliament as against the King, and as a logical result of it, Charles I., resisting popular supremacy, was impeached for treason, and executed. The fundamental question involved in the 'Petition of Right' is that of the right of the producer to own and control his product. In adopting the bill, Parliament declared that "no freeman shall be required to give any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax, without common consent, by act of Parliament." Other declarations of the Petition were that "no freeman be imprisoned or detained contrary to the law of the land;" that soldiers or mariners be not billeted on private houses; and that "commissions to punish soldiers and sailors by martial law be revoked and no more issued."

Sir John Eliot, one of the most eloquent men of his day, gave his full power to the support of the Petition, which was drawn by the celebrated Coke. Born April 20th, 1592, Eliot, after graduating at Oxford and studying law in London, entered Parliament in 1625. He became one of the leaders of an Opposition which boasts such great names as Coke, Pym, and Hampden. In 1626, in company with Sir Dudley Digges, he was seized by Charles I. and hurried to the Tower, but Parliament asserted its prerogative with such vigor that the King was compelled to surrender his prisoners. The 'Petition of Right,' adopted in the third Parliament under Charles I., though drawn in the form of a petition to the throne, was really so bold an assertion of popular rights that Eliot's share in it was never forgiven. On the dissolution of Parliament in 1629, he was arrested, sentenced to pay a fine of £2,000 and to remain in prison until he should acknowledge himself guilty of conspiracy against the King. He died in the Tower, November 27th, 1632. Goodrich compares Eliot's style to that of Demosthenes. It is severe in expression but admirable in its directness, with a cumulative force that is seen only in the speeches of men of great intellect.

ON THE PETITION OF RIGHT

(Delivered in the House of Commons, June 3d, 1628)

Mr. Speaker:—

WE SIT here as the great Council of the King, and in that company it is our duty to take into consideration the state and affairs of the kingdom, and, when there is occasion, to give a true representation of them by way of counsel and advice, with what we conceive necessary or expedient to be done.

In this consideration I confess many a sad thought hath affrighted me, and that not only in respect of our dangers from abroad (which yet I know are great, as they have been often pressed and dilated to us), but in respect of our disorders here at home, which do enforce those dangers and by which they are occasioned. For I believe I shall make it clear to you that both at first the cause of these dangers were our disorders, and our disorders now are yet our greatest dangers; that not so much the potency of our enemies as the weakness of ourselves doth threaten us; so that the saying of one of the Fathers may be presumed by us, "*Non tam potentia sua quam negligentia nostra*" (Not so much by our power as by our neglect). Our want of true devotion to Heaven; our insincerity and doubting in religion; our want of councils; our precipitate actions; the insufficiency or unfaithfulness of our generals abroad; the ignorance or corruption of our ministers at home; the impoverishing of the sovereign; the oppression and depression of the subject; the exhausting of our treasures; the waste of our provisions; consumption of our ships; destruction of our men;—these make the advantage to our enemies, not the reputation of their arms; and if in these there be not reformation, we need no foes abroad; time itself will ruin us.

To show this more fully, I believe you will all hold it necessary that what I say should not seem an aspersion on the state or imputation on the government, as I have known such motions misinterpreted. But far is this from me to propose, who have none but clear thoughts of the excellency of the King; nor can I have other ends but the advancement of his Majesty's glory. I shall desire a little of your patience extraordinary, as I lay

open the particulars, which I shall do with what brevity I may, answerable to the importance of the cause and the necessity now upon us; yet with such respect and observation to the time, as I hope it shall not be thought troublesome.

1. For the first, then, our insincerity and doubting in religion is the greatest and most dangerous disorder of all others. This hath never been unpunished; and of this we have many strong examples of all states and in all times to awe us. What testimony doth it want? Will you have authority of books? Look on the collections of the Committee for Religion; there is too clear an evidence. See there the commission procured for composition with the Papists of the North! Mark the proceedings thereupon, and you will find them to little less amounting than a toleration in effect; the slight payments, and the easiness of them, will likewise show the favor that is intended. Will you have proofs of men? Witness the hopes, witness the presumptions, witness the reports of all the papists generally. Observe the dispositions of commanders, the trust of officers, the confidence in secretaries to employments in this kingdom, in Ireland, and elsewhere. These will all show that it hath too great a certainty. And to this add but the incontrovertible evidence of that All-Powerful Hand, which we have felt so sorely, that gave it full assurance; for as the heavens oppose themselves to our impiety, so it is we that first opposed the heavens.

2. For the second, our want of councils, that great disorder in a state under which there cannot be stability. If effects may show their causes (as they are often a perfect demonstration of them), our misfortunes, our disasters, serve to prove our deficiencies in council, and the consequences they draw with them. If reason be allowed in this dark age, the judgment of dependencies and foresight of contingencies in affairs do confirm my position. For, if we view ourselves at home, are we in strength, are we in reputation, equal to our ancestors? If we view ourselves abroad, are our friends as many? Are our enemies no more? Do our friends retain their safety and possessions? Do not our enemies enlarge themselves, and gain from them and us? To what council owe we the loss of the Palatinate where we sacrificed both our honor and our men sent thither, stopping those greater powers appointed for the service, by which it might have been defended? What council gave direction to the late action, whose wounds are yet bleeding? I mean the expedition to

Rhé, of which there is yet so sad a memory in all men. What design for us or advantage to our state could that impart?

You know the wisdom of your ancestors, and the practice of their times, how they preserved their safeties. We all know, and have as much cause to doubt (*i. e.*, distrust or guard against) as they had, the greatness and ambition of that kingdom, which the Old World could not satisfy. Against this greatness and ambition we likewise know the proceedings of that princess, that never-to-be-forgotten, excellent Queen Elizabeth, whose name, without admiration, falls not into mention even with her enemies. You know how she advanced herself, and how she advanced the nation in glory and in state; how she depressed her enemies, and how she upheld her friends; how she enjoyed a full security, and made those our scorn who now are made our terror.

Some of the principles she built on were these, and if I mistake, let reason and our statesmen contradict me:—

First, to maintain, in what she might, a unity in France, that the kingdom, being at peace within itself, might be a bulwark to keep back the power of Spain by land.

Next, to preserve an amity and league between that State and us, that so we might come in aid of the Low Countries (Holland), and by that means receive their ships, and help them by sea.

This triple cord, so working between France, the States (Holland), and England, might enable us, as occasion should require, to give assistance unto others. And by this means, as the experience of that time doth tell us, we were not only free from those fears that now possess and trouble us, but then our names were fearful to our enemies. See now what correspondency our action had with this. Try our conduct by these rules. It did induce, as a necessary consequence, a division in France between Protestants and their king, of which there is too woeful and lamentable experience. It hath made an absolute breach between that State and us, and so entertains us against France, and France in preparation against us, that we have nothing to promise to our neighbors, nay, hardly to ourselves. Next, observe the time in which it was attempted, and you shall find it not only varying from those principles, but directly contrary and opposite to those ends; and such, as from the issue and success, rather might be thought a conception of Spain than begotten here with us.

You know the dangers of Denmark, and how much they concern us; what in respect of our alliance and the country; what in the importance of the sound; what an advantage to our enemies the gain thereof would be! What loss, what prejudice to us by this disunion; we breaking in upon France, France enraged by us, and the Netherlands at amazement between both! Neither could we intend to aid that luckless King (Christian IV., of Denmark), whose loss is our disaster.

Can those (the King's ministers) that express their trouble at the hearing of these things, and have so often told us in this place of their knowledge in the conjunctures and disjunctures of affairs — can they say they advised in this? Was this an act of council, Mr. Speaker? I have more charity than to think it; and, unless they make confession of it themselves, I cannot believe it.

3. For the next, the insufficiency and unfaithfulness of our generals (that great disorder abroad), what shall I say? I wish there were not cause to mention it; and but for the apprehension of the danger that is to come, if the like choice hereafter be not prevented, I could willingly be silent. But my duty to my sovereign, my service to this House, and the safety and honor of my country, are above all respects; and what so nearly trenches to the prejudice of these, must not, shall not be forborne.

At Cadiz, when in that first expedition we made, when we arrived and found a conquest ready,— the Spanish ships I mean,— fit for the satisfaction of a voyage, and of which some of the chiefest then there themselves have since assured me that the satisfaction would have been sufficient, either in point of honor, or in point of profit — why was it neglected? Why was it not achieved, it being granted on all hands how feasible it was?

Afterwards when, with the destruction of some of our men and the exposure of others, who (though their fortune since has not been such), by chance, came off safe — when, I say, with the loss of our serviceable men, that unserviceable fort was gained, and the whole army landed, why was there nothing done? Why was there nothing attempted? If nothing was intended, wherefore did they land? If there was a service, wherefore were they shipped again? Mr. Speaker, it satisfies me too much (*i. e.*, I am over-satisfied) in this case — when I think of their dry and hungry march into that drunken quarter (for so the soldiers termed it) which was the period of their journey — that divers

of our men being left as a sacrifice to the enemy, that labor was at end.

For the next undertaking at Rhé, I will not trouble you with much, only this in short. Was not that whole action carried against the judgment and opinion of those officers that were of the council? Was not the first, was not the last, was not all in the landing, in the intrenching, in the continuance there, in the assault, in the retreat, without their assent? Did any advice take place of such as were of the council? If there should be made a particular inquisition thereof, these things will be manifest and more. I will not instance the manifest that was made, giving the reason of these arms; nor by whom, nor in what manner, nor on what grounds it was published, nor what effects it hath wrought, drawing, as it were, almost the whole world into league against us. Nor will I mention the leaving of the wines, the leaving of the salt, which were in our possession, and of a value, as it is said, to answer much of our expense. Nor will I dwell on that great wonder (which no Alexander or Cæsar ever did), the enriching of the enemy by courtesies when our soldiers wanted help; nor the private intercourse and parleys with the fort, which were continually held. What they intended may be read in the success; and upon due examination thereof, they would not want their proofs.

For the last voyage to Rochelle, there need be no observations; it is so fresh in memory; nor will I make an inference or corollary on all. Your own knowledge shall judge what truth or what sufficiency they express.

4. For the next, the ignorance and corruption of our ministers, where can you miss of instances? If you survey the court, if you survey the country; if the Church, if the city be examined; if you observe the bar, if the bench, if the ports, if the shipping, if the land, if the seas,—all these will render you variety of proofs, and that in such measure and proportion as shows the greatness of our disease to be such that if there be not some speedy application for remedy, our case is almost desperate.

5. Mr. Speaker, I fear I have been too long in these particulars that are past, and am unwilling to offend you; therefore in the rest I shall be shorter; and as to that which concerns the impoverishing of the King, no other arguments will I use than such as all men grant.

The exchequer, you know, is empty, and the reputation thereof gone; the ancient lands are sold; the jewels pawned; the plate engaged; the debt still great; almost all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, borne up by projects! What poverty can be greater? What necessity so great? What perfect English heart is not almost dissolved into sorrow for this truth?

6. For the oppression of the subject, which, as I remember, is the next particular I proposed, it needs no demonstration. The whole kingdom is a proof; and, for the exhausting of our treasures, that very oppression speaks it. What waste of our provisions, what consumption of our ships, what destruction of our men there hath been? Witness that expedition to Algiers; witness that with Mansfeldt; witness that to Cadiz; witness the next — witness that to Rhé; witness the last (I pray God we may never have more such witnesses!) — witness, likewise, the Palatinate; witness Denmark, witness the Turks, witness the Dunkirkers, witness all! What losses we have sustained! How we are impaired in munitions, in ships, in men!

It is beyond contradiction that we were never so weakened, nor ever had less hope how to be restored.

These, Mr. Speaker, are our dangers, these are they who do threaten us, and these are, like the Trojan horse, brought in cunningly to surprise us. In these do lurk the strongest of our enemies, ready to issue on us; and if we do not speedily expel them, these are the signs, these are the invitations to others! These will so prepare their entrance that we shall have no means left of refuge or defense; for if we have these enemies at home, how can we strive with those that are abroad? If we be free from these, no other can impeach us. Our ancient English virtue (like the old Spartan valor) cleared from these disorders — our being in sincerity of religion and once made friends with heaven; having maturity of councils, sufficiency of generals, incorruption of officers, opulency in the King, liberty in the people, repletion in treasure, plenty of provisions, reparation of ships, preservation of men — our ancient English virtue, I say, thus rectified, will secure us; and unless there be a speedy reformation in these, I know not what hopes or expectations we can have.

These are the things, sir, I shall desire to have taken into consideration; that as we are the great council of the kingdom, and have the apprehension of these dangers, we may truly represent them unto the King, which I conceive we are bound to do

by a triple obligation — of duty to God, of duty to his Majesty, and of duty to our country.

And therefore I wish it may so stand with the wisdom and judgment of the House that these things may be drawn into the body of remonstrance, and in all humility expressed, with a prayer to his Majesty that, for the safety of himself, for the safety of the kingdom, and for the safety of religion, he will be pleased to give us time to make perfect inquisition thereof, or to take them into his own wisdom, and there give them such timely reformation as the necessity and justice of the case doth import.

And thus, sir, with a large affection and loyalty to his Majesty, and with a firm duty and service to my country, I have suddenly (and it may be with some disorder) expressed the weak apprehensions I have; wherein if I have erred, I humbly crave your pardon, and so submit myself to the censure of the House.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH

(1745–1807)

OLIVER ELLSWORTH, Chief-Justice of the United States during the administration of John Adams, was an orator of exceptional power. It is said that though his imagination was cold and colorless, his eloquence was nevertheless irresistible — a result due, no doubt, to such masterly handling of facts as is illustrated in his address to the Connecticut State Convention, when the question of coercing the States was under consideration. No one else, perhaps, has presented the logic of coercion so forcibly — certainly not Hamilton, who is much less direct. Ellsworth shows a strength of conviction on this point, which it is necessary to understand before it is possible to understand the forces which made American history from 1850 to 1870. His address on Coercion is one of the most important historical documents in American archives.

He was born at Windsor, Connecticut, April 29th, 1745. From 1789 to 1796 he was United States Senator for Connecticut. In 1796 he left the Senate to become Chief-Justice of the United States. In 1799 he went as envoy to France, and, during his absence, resigned as Chief-Justice. Returning to America he served as a member of the State Council of Connecticut from 1802 to 1807, dying November 26th, 1807.

UNION AND COERCION

(Delivered at the Opening of the Debates on the Federal Constitution, in the Convention of the State of Connecticut, January 4th, 1788)

Mr. President:—

IT IS observable that there is no preface to the proposed Constitution; but it evidently presupposes two things: one is, the necessity of a federal government; the other is the inefficiency of the old Articles of Confederation. A union is necessary for the purposes of a national defense. United, we are strong; divided, we are weak. It is easy for hostile nations to sweep off a number of separate States one after another. Witness the States in the neighborhood of ancient Rome. They were suc-

cessively subdued by that ambitious city, which they might have conquered with the utmost ease, if they had been united.

Witness the Canaanitish nations whose divided situation rendered them an easy prey. Witness England, which, when divided into separate States, was twice conquered by an inferior force. Thus it always happens to small States, and to great ones, if divided. Or if, to avoid this, they connect themselves with some powerful State, their situation is not much better. This shows us the necessity of combining our whole force, and, as to national purposes, becoming one State.

A union, sir, is likewise necessary, considered with relation to economy. Small States have enemies, as well as great ones. They must provide for their defense. The expense of it, which would be moderate for a large kingdom, would be intolerable to a petty State. The Dutch are wealthy; but they are one of the smallest of the European nations, and their taxes are higher than in any other country of Europe. The taxes amount to forty shillings per head, when those of England do not exceed half that sum.

We must unite in order to preserve peace among ourselves. If we be divided, what is to prevent wars from breaking out among the States? States, as well as individuals, are subject to ambition, to avarice, to those jarring passions which disturb the peace of society. What is to check these? If there be a parental hand over the whole, this, and nothing else, can restrain the unruly conduct of members.

Union is necessary to preserve commutative justice between the States. If divided, what is to prevent the large States from oppressing the small? What is to defend us from the ambition and rapacity of New York, when she has spread over that vast territory which she claims and holds? Do we not already see in her the seeds of an overbearing ambition? On our other side, there is a large and powerful State. Have we not already begun to be tributaries? If we do not improve the present critical time,—if we do not unite,—shall we not be like Issachar of old, a strong ass crouching down between two burdens? New Jersey and Delaware have seen this, and have adopted the Constitution unanimously.

A more energetic system is necessary. The present is merely advisory. It has no coercive power. Without this, government is ineffectual, or rather is no government at all. But it is said:

"Such a power is not necessary. States will not do wrong. They need only to be told their duty, and they will do it." I ask, sir, what warrant is there for this assertion? Do not States do wrong? Whence come wars? One of two hostile nations must be in the wrong. But, it is said: "Among sister States, this can never be presumed." But do we not know that, when friends become enemies, their enmity is the most virulent? The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands were once confederated; they fought under the same banner. Antwerp, hard pressed by Philip, applied to the other States for relief. Holland, a rival in trade, opposed and prevented for the needy, succors. Antwerp was made a sacrifice. I wish I could say there were no seeds of similar injustice springing up among us. Is there not in one of our States injustice too barefaced for Eastern despotism? That State is small; it does little hurt to any but itself. But it has a spirit which would make a Tophet of the universe. But some will say: "We formerly did well without any union." I answer, Our situation is materially changed. While Great Britain held her authority, she awed us. She appointed governors and councils for the American provinces. She had a negative upon our laws. But now our circumstances are so altered that there is no arguing what we shall be from what we have been.

It is said that other confederacies have not had the principle of coercion. Is this so? Let us attend to those confederacies which have resembled our own. Some time before Alexander, the Grecian States confederated together. The Amphictyonic Council, consisting of deputies from these States, met at Delphos, and had authority to regulate the general interests of Greece. This council did enforce its decrees by coercion. The Bœotians once infringed upon a decree of the Amphictyons. A mulct was laid upon them. They refused to pay it. Upon that, their whole territory was confiscated. They were then glad to compound the matter. After the death of Alexander, the Achæan League was formed. The decrees of this confederacy were enforced by dint of arms. The Ætolian League was formed by some other Grecian cities, in opposition to the Achæan; and there was no peace between them until they were conquered and reduced to a Roman province. They were then obliged to sit down in peace under the same yoke of despotism.

How is it with respect to the principle of coercion in the Germanic body? In Germany there are about three hundred

principalities and republics. Deputies from these meet annually in the general Diet, to make regulations for the empire. But the execution of these is not left voluntarily with the members. The empire is divided into ten circles, over each of which a superintendent is appointed, with the rank of a major-general. It is his duty to execute the decrees of the empire with a military force.

The Confederation of the Swiss Cantons has been considered as an example. But their circumstances are far different from ours. They are small republics about twenty miles square, situated among the Alps, and inaccessible to hostile attacks. They have nothing to tempt an invasion. Till lately, they had neither commerce nor manufactures. They were merely a set of herdsmen. Their inaccessibleness has availed them. Four hundred of those mountaineers defeated fifteen thousand Austrians, who were marching to subdue them. They spend the ardor of youth in foreign service; they return old, and disposed for tranquillity. Between some of the cantons and France, there has long subsisted a defensive treaty. By this treaty, France is to be a mediator to settle differences between the cantons. If any one be obstinate, France is to compel a submission to reasonable terms.

The Dutch Republic is an example that merits attention. The form of their Constitution, as it is on paper, admits not of coercion. But necessity has introduced it in practice. This coercive power is the influence of the stadtholder, an officer originally unknown to their Constitution. But they have been necessitated to appoint him, in order to set their unwieldy machine of government in motion. He is commander-in-chief of their navy and of their army, consisting of forty or fifty regiments. He appoints the officers of the land and naval forces. He presides in the States-General and in the States of every province; and, by means of this, he has a great opportunity to influence the elections and decisions. The province of Holland has ever been opposed to the appointment of a stadtholder, because by its wealth and power, being equal to all the other provinces, it possesses the weight and influence of the stadtholder, when that office is vacant. Without such an influence, their machine of government would no more move than a ship without a wind, or a clock without weights.

But to come nearer home. Mr. President, have we not seen and felt the necessity of such a coercive power? What was the

consequence of the want of it during the late war, particularly towards the close? A few States bore the burden of the war. While we and one or two more of the States were paying eighty or a hundred dollars per man to recruit the Continental Army, the regiments of some States had scarcely men enough to wait on their officers. Since the close of the war, some of the States have done nothing towards complying with the requisitions of Congress. Others, who did something at first, seeing that they were left to bear the whole burden, have become equally remiss. What is the consequence? To what shifts have we been driven? To the wretched expedient of negotiating new loans in Europe, to pay the interest of the foreign debts. And what is still worse, we have been obliged to apply the new loans to the support of our own civil Government at home.

Another ill consequence of this want of energy is that treaties are not performed. The treaty of peace with Great Britain was a very favorable one for us. But it did not happen perfectly to please some of the States, and they would not comply with it. The consequence is, Britain charges us with the breach, and refuses to deliver up the forts on our northern quarter.

Our being tributaries to our sister States is in consequence of the want of a federal system. The State of New York raises sixty thousand or eighty thousand pounds a year by impost. Connecticut consumes about one-third of the goods upon which this impost is laid, and consequently pays one-third of this sum to New York. If we import by the medium of Massachusetts, she has an impost, and to her we pay a tribute. If this is done when we have the shadow of a national government, what shall we not suffer when even that shadow is gone?

If we go on as we have done, what is to become of the foreign debt? Will sovereign nations forgive us this debt, because we neglect to pay? or will they levy it by reprisals, as the laws of nations authorize them? Will our weakness induce Spain to relinquish the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi or the territory which she claims on the east side of that river? Will our weakness induce the British to give up the northern posts? If a war break out, and our situation invite our enemies to make war, how are we to defend ourselves? Has Government the means to enlist a man or to buy an ox? Or shall we rally the remainder of our old army? The European nations I believe to be not friendly to us They were pleased to see us disconnected

from Great Britain; they are pleased to see us disunited among ourselves. If we continue so, how easy is it for them to canton us out among them, as they did the kingdom of Poland! But supposing this is not done, if we suffer the Union to expire, the least that may be expected is that the European powers will form alliances, some with one State and some with another, and play the States off one against another, and that we shall be involved in all the labyrinths of European politics. But I do not wish to continue the painful recital; enough has been said to show that a power in the General Government to enforce the decrees of the Union is absolutely necessary.

The Constitution before us is a complete system of legislative, judicial, and executive power. It was designed to supply the defects of the former system; and I believe, upon a full discussion, it will be found calculated to answer the purposes for which it was designed.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

(1803–1882)

THE profoundest thinker of the America of his day, Ralph Waldo Emerson is, by that right, one of its greatest orators. It is doubtful if any one else has spoken in America, in whose sentences ideas crowd each other as they do in his. His training as an orator preceded the practice which made him a great essayist; and though, for the most part, he gave up professional public speaking on leaving the pulpit, his addresses and lectures express his lofty genius better, perhaps, than it is expressed in any equal number of his essays. He is a genuine poet, as well as an orator and essayist, but his eloquence is that of the great thinker rather than of the great poet. He does not amplify under the influence of his ear for melody. His address on the death of Lincoln is a model of brevity as it is of condensed and compacted truthfulness. Instead of putting Lincoln in "apotheosis," he humanizes him. The Lincoln of Beecher and of Phillips Brooks might have come from Utopia. Emerson's Lincoln certainly came from Illinois, and Emerson demonstrates him a greater man than any Utopia has yet produced.

Born in Boston, May 25th, 1803, Emerson graduated at Harvard in 1821, and from 1827 to 1832 filled the pulpit of a Unitarian Church in Boston. In 1833 he began lecturing and producing the works which immortalized him. He has been charged with having a defective ear as a poet, but if so, the defect is in his sense of metre, rather than of melody. His oratory, though completely dominated by idea, is always melodious in tone, and it is not necessarily to its discredit that it will not break up into blank verse. Emerson died at Concord, April 27th, 1882. His was the greatest mind of New England. The world has produced few greater.

THE GREATNESS OF A PLAIN AMERICAN

(Delivered at Concord, Massachusetts, on the Occasion of the Funeral Services in Honor of Mr. Lincoln, 1865)

WE MEET under the gloom of a calamity which darkens down over the minds of good men in all civilized society, as the fearful tidings travel over sea, over land, from country to country, like the shadow of an uncalculated eclipse over

the planet. Old as history is, and manifold as are its tragedies, I doubt if any death has caused so much pain to mankind as this has caused, or will cause, on its announcement; and this not so much because nations are by modern arts brought so closely together, as because of the mysterious hopes and fears which, in the present day, are connected with the name and institutions of America. In this country, on Saturday, every one was struck dumb, and saw, at first, only deep below deep, as he meditated on the ghastly blow. And, perhaps, at this hour, when the coffin which contains the dust of the President sets forward on its long march through mourning States, on its way to his home in Illinois, we might well be silent, and suffer the awful voices of the time to thunder to us. Yes, but that first despair was brief; the man was not so to be mourned. He was the most active and hopeful of men, and his work had not perished, but acclamations of praise for the task he had accomplished burst out into a song of triumph, which even tears for his death cannot keep down. The President stood before us a man of the people. He was thoroughly American, had never crossed the sea, had never been spoiled by English insularity or French dissipation; a quiet, native, aboriginal man, as an acorn from the oak; no aping of foreigners, no frivolous accomplishments; Kentuckian born, working on a farm, a flatboatman, a captain in the Blackhawk War, a country lawyer, a representative in the rural legislature of Illinois — on such modest foundations the broad structure of his fame was laid. How slowly, and yet by happily prepared steps, he came to his place! All of us remember — it is only a history of five or six years — the surprise and disappointment of the country at his first nomination at Chicago. Mr. Seward, then in the culmination of his good fame, was the favorite of the Eastern States. And when the new and comparatively unknown name of Lincoln was announced (notwithstanding the report of the acclamations of that convention), we heard the result coldly and sadly. It seemed too rash, on a purely local reputation, to build so grave a trust, in such anxious times; and men naturally talked of the chances in politics as incalculable. But it turned out not to be chance. The profound good opinion which the people of Illinois and of the West had conceived of him, and which they had imparted to their colleagues, that they also might justify themselves to their constituents at home, was not rash, though they did not begin

to know the richness of his worth. A plain man of the people, an extraordinary fortune attended him. Lord Bacon says: "Manifest virtues procure reputation; occult ones, fortune." He offered no shining qualities at the first encounter; he did not offend by superiority. He had a face and manner which disarmed suspicion, which inspired confidence, which confirmed good-will. He was a man without vices. He had a strong sense of duty which it was very easy for him to obey. Then he had what farmers call a long head; was excellent in working out the sum for himself, in arguing his case and convincing you fairly and firmly. Then it turned out that he was a greater worker, and that, having prodigious faculty of performance, he worked easily. A good worker is so rare; everybody has some one disabling quality. But this man was found to the very core, cheerful, persistent, all right for labor, and he liked nothing so well. Then he had a vast good nature, which made him tolerant and accessible to all; fair-minded, leaning to the claim of the petitioner, affable, and not sensible to the affliction which the innumerable visits paid to him, when President, would have brought to any one else. And how this good nature became a noble humanity in many a tragic case which the events of the war brought to him, everyone will remember, and with what increasing tenderness he dealt when a whole race was on his compassion. The poor negro said of him, on an impressive occasion, "Massa Linkum am eberywhere." Then his broad good humor, running easily into jocular talk, in which he delighted and in which he excelled, was a rich gift to this wise man. It enabled him to keep his secret, to meet every kind of man and every rank in society, to take off the edge of the severest decisions, to mask his own purpose and sound his companion, and to catch with true instinct the temper of each company he addressed. And, more than all, such good nature is to a man of severe labor, in anxious and exhausting crises, the natural restorative, good as sleep, and is the protection of the overdriven brain against rancor and insanity. He is the author of a multitude of good sayings, so disguised as pleasantries that it is certain that they had no reputation at first but as jests; and only later, by the acceptance and adoption they find in the mouths of millions, turn out to be the wisdom of the hour. I am sure if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a few years, like Æsop or Pilpay, or one of the

Seven Wise Masters, by his fables and proverbs. But the weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined hereafter to wide fame. What pregnant definitions; what unerring common sense; what foresight; and on great occasions, what lofty and more than natural, what humane tone! His occupying the chair of State was a triumph of the good sense of mankind and of the public confidence. This middle-class country has got a middle-class President at last. Yes, in manners, sympathies, but not in powers, for his powers were superior. His mind mastered the problem of the day; and, as the problem grew, so did his comprehension of it. Rarely was man so fitted to the event. In the midst of fears and jealousies, in the babel of counsels and parties, this man wrought incessantly with all his might and all his honesty, laboring to find what the people wanted, and how to obtain that. It cannot be said there is any exaggeration of his worth. If ever a man was fairly tested, he was. There was no lack of resistance, nor of slander, nor of ridicule. The times have allowed no State secrets; the nation has been in such a ferment, such multitudes had to be trusted, that no secret could be kept. Every door was ajar, and we know all that befell. Then what an occasion was the whirlwind of the war! Here was place for no holiday magistrate, no fair-weather sailor; the new pilot was hurried to the helm in a tornado. In four years — the four years of battle-days — his endurance, his fertility of resources, his magnanimity, were sorely tried and never found wanting. There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood, an heroic figure in the centre of an heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step, he walked before them; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs; the true representative of this continent; an entirely public man; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue. Adam Smith remarks that the ax which in Houbraken's portraits of British kings and worthies is engraved under those who have suffered at the block adds a certain lofty charm to the picture. And who does not see, even in this tragedy so recent, how fast the terror and ruin of the massacre are already burning into glory around the victim? Far happier this fate than to have lived to be wished away; to have

watched the decay of his own faculties; to have seen — perhaps, even he — the proverbial ingratitude of statesmen; to have seen mean men preferred. Had he not lived long enough to keep the greatest promise that ever man made to his fellow-men — the practical abolition of slavery? He had seen Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland emancipate their slaves. He had seen Savannah, Charleston, and Richmond surrendered; had seen the main army of the Rebellion lay down its arms. He had conquered the public opinion of Canada, England, and France. Only Washington can compare with him in fortune. And what if it should turn out, in the unfolding of the web, that he had reached the term; that this heroic deliverer could no longer serve us; that the rebellion had touched its natural conclusion, and what remained to be done required new and uncommitted hands — a new spirit born out of the ashes of the war; and that Heaven, wishing to show the world a completed benefactor, shall make him serve his country even more by his death than his life. Nations, like kings, are not good by facility and complaisance. "The kindness of kings consists in justice and strength." Easy good nature has been the dangerous foible of the Republic, and it was necessary that its enemies should outrage it, and drive us to unwonted firmness, to secure the salvation of this country in the next ages.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

(From the Oration Delivered August 31st, 1837, at Cambridge)

I HEAR with joy whatever is beginning to be said of the dignity and necessity of labor to every citizen. There is virtue yet in the hoe and the spade, for learned as well as for unlearned hands. And labor is everywhere welcome; always we are invited to work; only be this limitation observed, that a man shall not for the sake of wider activity sacrifice any opinion to the popular judgments and modes of action.

I have spoken of the education of the scholar by nature, by books, and by action. It remains to say somewhat of his duties.

They are such as become Man Thinking. They may all be comprised in self-trust. The office of the scholar is to cheer, to raise, and to guide men by showing them facts amidst appearances. He plies the slow, unhonored, and unpaid task of observ-

ation. Flamsteed and Herschel, in their glazed observatories, may catalogue the stars with the praise of all men, and, the results being splendid and useful, honor is sure. But he, in his private observatory, cataloguing obscure and nebulous stars of the human mind, which as yet no man has thought of as such, — watching days and months, sometimes, for a few facts; correcting still his old records, — must relinquish display and immediate fame. In the long period of his preparation, he must betray often an ignorance and shiftlessness in popular arts, incurring the disdain of the able who shoulder him aside. Long he must stammer in his speech; often forego the living for the dead. Worse yet, he must accept, — how often! poverty and solitude. For the ease and pleasure of treading the old road, accepting the fashions, the education, the religion of society, he takes the cross of making his own, and, of course, the self-accusation, the faint heart, the frequent uncertainty and loss of time, which are the nettles and tangling vines in the way of the self-relying and self-directed; and the state of virtual hostility in which he seems to stand to society, and especially to educated society. For all this loss and scorn, what offset? He is to find consolation in exercising the highest functions of human nature. He is one who raises himself from private considerations, and breathes and lives on public and illustrious thoughts. He is the world's eye. He is the world's heart. He is to resist the vulgar prosperity that retrogrades ever to barbarism, by preserving and communicating heroic sentiments, noble biographies, melodious verse, and the conclusions of history. Whatsoever oracles the human heart, in all emergencies, in all solemn hours, has uttered as its commentary on the world of actions, — these he shall receive and impart. And whatsoever new verdict Reason from her inviolable seat pronounces on the passing men and events of to-day, — this he shall hear and promulgate.

These being his functions, it becomes him to feel all confidence in himself, and to defer never to the popular cry. He, and he only, knows the world. The world of any moment is the merest appearance. Some great decorum, some fetish of a government, some ephemeral trade, or war, or man, is cried up by half mankind and cried down by the other half, as if all depended on this particular up or down. The odds are that the whole question is not worth the poorest thought which the scholar has lost in listening to the controversy. Let him not quit his belief that

a popgun is a popgun, though the ancient and honorable of the earth affirm it to be the crack of doom. In silence, in steadiness, in severe abstraction, let him hold by himself; add observation to observation, patient of neglect, patient of reproach; and bide his own time,—happy enough, if he can satisfy himself alone, that this day he has seen something truly. Success treads on every right step. For the instinct is sure that prompts him to tell his brother what he thinks. He then learns that, in going down into the secrets of his own mind, he has descended into the secrets of all minds. He learns that he who has mastered any law in his private thoughts is master to that extent of all men whose language he speaks, and of all into whose language his own can be translated. The poet, in utter solitude remembering his spontaneous thoughts and recording them, is found to have recorded that which men in crowded cities find true for them also. The orator distrusts at first the fitness of his frank confessions,—his want of knowledge of the persons he addresses,—until he finds that he is the complement of his hearers; that they drink his words because he fulfills for them their own nature; the deeper he dives into his privatest, secretest presentiment, to his wonder he finds this is the most acceptable, most public, and universally true. The people delight in it; the better part of every man feels, This is my music, this is myself.

In self-trust, all the virtues are comprehended. Free should the scholar be,—free and brave. Free even to the definition of freedom, "without any hindrance that does not arise out of his own constitution." Brave; for fear is a thing which a scholar, by his very function, puts behind him. Fear always springs from ignorance. It is a shame to him if his tranquillity, amid dangerous times, arise from the presumption that, like children and women, his is a protected class; or if he seek a temporary peace by the diversion of his thoughts from politics or vexed questions, hiding his head like an ostrich in the flowering bushes, peeping into microscopes, and turning rhymes, as a boy whistles to keep his courage up. So is the danger a danger still; so is the fear worse. Manlike let him turn and face it. Let him look into its eye and search its nature, inspect its origin,—see the whelping of this lion, which lies no great way back; he will then find in himself a perfect comprehension of its nature and extent; he will have made his hands meet on the other side, and can henceforth defy it, and pass on superior. The world is

his, who can see through its pretension. What deafness, what stone-blind custom, what overgrown error you behold, is there only by sufferance,—by your sufferance. See it to be a lie, and you have already dealt it its mortal blow.

Yes, we are the cowed,—we the trustless. It is a mischievous notion that we are come late into nature; that the world was finished a long time ago. As the world was plastic and fluid in the hands of God, so it is ever to so much of his attributes as we bring to it. To ignorance and sin, it is flint. They adapt themselves to it as they may; but in proportion as a man has anything in him divine, the firmament flows before him and takes his signet and form. Not he is great who can alter matter, but he who can alter my state of mind. They are the kings of the world who give the color of their present thought to all nature and all art, and persuade men by the cheerful serenity of their carrying the matter, that this thing which they do is the apple which the ages have desired to pluck, now at last ripe, and inviting nations to the harvest. The great man makes the great thing. Wherever Macdonald sits, there is the head of the table. Linnæus makes botany the most alluring of studies, and wins it from the farmer and the herb-woman; Davy, chemistry; and Cuvier, fossils. The day is always his who works in it with serenity and great aims. The unstable estimates of men crowd to him whose mind is filled with a truth, as the heaped waves of the Atlantic follow the moon.

For this self-trust, the reason is deeper than can be fathomed,—darker than can be enlightened. I might not carry with me the feeling of my audience in stating my own belief. But I have already shown the ground of my hope, in adverting to the doctrine that man is one. I believe man has been wronged; he has wronged himself. He has almost lost the light that can lead him back to his prerogatives. Men are become of no account Men in history, men in the world of to-day are bugs, are spawn, and are called "the mass" and "the herd." In a century, in a millenium, one or two men; that is to say, one or two approximations to the right state of every man. All the rest behold in the hero or the poet their own green and crude being,—ripened; yes, and are content to be less, so that may attain to its full stature. What a testimony, full of grandeur, full of pity, is borne to the demands of his own nature, by the poor clansman, the poor partisan, who rejoices in the glory of his chief. The poor

and the low find some amends to their immense moral capacity, for their acquiescence in a political and social inferiority. They are content to be brushed like flies from the path of a great person, so that justice shall be done by him to that common nature which it is the dearest desire of all to see enlarged and glorified. They sun themselves in the great man's light, and feel it to be their own element. They cast the dignity of man from their downtrod selves upon the shoulders of a hero, and will perish to add one drop of blood to make that great heart beat, those giant sinews combat and conquer. He lives for us and we live in him.

Men such as they are very naturally seek money or power; and power because it is as good as money,—the "spoils," so called, "of office." And why not? for they aspire to the highest, and this, in their sleep-walking, they dream is highest. Wake them, and they shall quit the false good and leap to the true, and leave governments to clerks and desks. This revolution is to be wrought by the gradual domestication of the idea of culture. The main enterprise of the world for splendor, for extent, is the upbuilding of a man. Here are the materials strewn along the ground. The private life of one man shall be a more illustrious monarchy,—more formidable to its enemy, more sweet and serene in its influence to its friend, than any kingdom in history. For a man, rightly viewed, comprehendeth the particular natures of all men. Each philosopher, each bard, each actor, has only done for me, as by a delegate, what one day I can do for myself. The books which once we valued more than the apple of the eye, we have quite exhausted. What is that but saying that we have come up with the point of view which the universal mind took through the eyes of one scribe; we have been that man and have passed on. First, one; then, another; we drain all cisterns, and, waxing greater by all these supplies, we crave a better and more abundant food. The man has never lived that can feed us ever. The human mind cannot be enshrined in a person who shall set a barrier on any one side to this unbounded, unboundable empire. It is one central fire, which, flaming now out of the lips of Etna, lightens the capes of Sicily; and now out of the throat of Vesuvius, illuminates the towers and vineyards of Naples. It is one light which beams out of a thousand stars. It is one soul which animates all men.

MAN THE REFORMER

(Peroration of the Address before the Mechanics' Apprentices' Library Association, Boston, January 25th, 1841)

What is a man born for but to be a Reformer, a Re-maker of what man has made; a renouncer of lies; a restorer of truth and good, imitating that great Nature which embosoms us all, and which sleeps no moment on an old past, but every hour repairs herself, yielding us every morning a new day, and with every pulsation a new life? Let him renounce everything which is not true to him, and put all his practices back on their first thoughts, and do nothing for which he has not the whole world for his reason. If there are inconveniences, and what is called ruin, in the way, because we have so enervated and maimed ourselves, yet it would be like dying of perfumes to sink in the effort to reattach the deeds of every day to the holy and mysterious recesses of life.

The power, which is at once spring and regulator in all efforts of reform, is the conviction that there is an infinite worthiness in man which will appear at the call of worth, and that all particular reforms are the removing of some impediment. Is it not the highest duty that man should be honored in us? I ought not to allow any man, because he has broad lands, to feel that he is rich in my presence. I ought to make him feel that I can do without his riches, that I cannot be bought,—neither by comfort, neither by pride,—and though I be utterly penniless, and receiving bread from him, that he is the poor man beside me. And if, at the same time, a woman or a child discover a sentiment of piety, or a juster way of thinking than mine, I ought to confess it by my respect and obedience, though it go to alter my whole way of life.

The Americans have many virtues, but they have not Faith and Hope. I know no two words whose meaning is more lost sight of. We use these words as if they were as obsolete as Selah and Amen. And yet they have the broadest meaning, and the most cogent application to Boston in 1841. The Americans have no faith. They rely on the power of a dollar; they are deaf to a sentiment. They think you may talk the north wind down as easily as raise society; and no class more faithless than the scholars or intellectual men. Now, if I talk with a sincere,

wise man, and my friend with a poet, with a conscientious youth who is still under the dominion of his own wild thoughts, and not yet harnessed in the team of society to drag with us all in the ruts of custom, I see at once how paltry is all this generation of unbelievers, and what a house of cards their institutions are, and I see what one brave man, what one great thought executed might effect. I see that the reason of the distrust of the practical man in all theory is his inability to perceive the means whereby we work. Look, he says, at the tools with which this world of yours is to be built. As we cannot make a planet with atmosphere, rivers, and forests, by means of the best carpenter's or engineer's tools, with chemist's laboratory and smith s forge to boot, so neither can we ever construct that heavenly society you prate of out of foolish, sick, selfish men and women, such as we know them to be. But the believer not only beholds his heaven to be possible, but already to begin to exist,—not by the men or materials the statesman uses, but by men transfigured and raised above themselves by the power of principles. To principles something else is possible that transcends all the power of expedients.

Every great and commanding moment in the annals of the world is the triumph of some enthusiasm. The victories of the Arabs after Mahomet, who, in a few years, from a small and mean beginning, established a larger empire than that of Rome, is an example. They did they knew not what. The naked Derar, horsed on an idea, was found an overmatch for a troop of Roman cavalry. The women fought like men, and conquered the Roman men. They were miserably equipped, miserably fed. They were Temperance troops. There was neither brandy nor flesh needed to feed them. They conquered Asia and Africa and Spain on barley. The Caliph Omar's walking-stick struck more terror into those who saw it than another man's sword. His diet was barley bread; his sauce was salt; and oftentimes, by way of abstinence, he ate his bread without salt. His drink was water; his palace was built of mud; and when he left Medina to go to the conquest of Jerusalem, he rode on a red camel, with a wooden platter hanging at his saddle, with a bottle of water and two sacks, one holding barley and the other dried fruits.

But there will dawn ere long on our politics, on our modes of living, a nobler morning than that Arabian faith, in the senti

ment of love. This is the one remedy for all ills, the panacea of nature. We must be lovers, and at once the impossible becomes possible. Our age and history, for these thousand years, has not been the history of kindness but of selfishness. Our distrust is very expensive. The money we spend for courts and prisons is very ill laid out. We make by distrust the thief and burglar and incendiary, and by our court and jail we keep him so. An acceptance of the sentiment of love throughout Christendom for a season would bring the felon and the outcast to our side in tears, with the devotion of his faculties to our service. See this wide society of laboring men and women. We allow ourselves to be served by them, we live apart from them, and meet them without a salute in the streets. We do not greet their talents, nor rejoice in their good fortune, nor foster their hopes, nor in the assembly of the people vote for what is dear to them. Thus we enact the part of the selfish noble and king from the foundation of the world. See, this tree always bears one fruit. In every household the peace of a pair is poisoned by the malice, slyness, indolence, and alienation of domestics. Let any two matrons meet, and observe how soon their conversation turns on the troubles from their "help," as our phrase is. In every knot of laborers, the rich man does not feel himself among his friends, — and at the polls he finds them arrayed in a mass in distinct opposition to him. We complain that the politics of masses of the people are controlled by designing men, and led in opposition to manifest justice and the common weal, and to their own interest But the people do not wish to be represented or ruled by the ignorant and base. They only vote for these because they were asked with the voice and semblance of kindness. They will not vote for them long. They inevitably prefer wit and probity. To use an Egyptian metaphor, it is not their will for any long time "to raise the nails of wild beasts, and to depress the heads of the sacred birds." Let our affection flow out to our fellows; it would operate in a day the greatest of all revolutions It is better to work on institutions by the sun than by the wind. The state must consider the poor man, and all voices must speak for him. Every child that is born must have a just chance for his bread. Let the amelioration in our laws of property proceed from the concession of the rich, not from the grasping of the poor. Let us begin by habitual imparting. Let us understand that the equitable rule is, that no one should take

more than his share, let him be ever so rich. Let me feel that I am to be a lover. I am to see to it that the world is the better for me and to find my reward in the act. Love would put a new face on this weary old world in which we dwell as pagans and enemies too long, and it would warm the heart to see how fast the vain diplomacy of statesmen, the impotence of armies and navies and lines of defense would be superseded by this unarmed child. Love will creep where it cannot go, will accomplish that by imperceptible methods,— being its own lever, fulcrum, and power,— which force could never achieve. Have you not seen in the woods, in a late autumn morning, a poor fungus or mushroom,— a plant without any solidity, nay, that seemed nothing but a soft mush or jelly,— by its constant, total, and inconceivably gentle pushing, manage to break its way up through the frosty ground, and actually to lift a hard crust on its head? It is the symbol of the power of kindness. The virtue of this principle in human society in application to great interests is obsolete and forgotten. Once or twice in history it has been tried in illustrious instances, with signal success. This great, overgrown, dead Christendom of ours still keeps alive at least the name of a lover of mankind. But one day all men will be lovers; and every calamity will be dissolved in the universal sunshine.

Will you suffer me to add one trait more to this portrait of man the reformer? The mediator between the spiritual and the actual world should have a great prospective prudence. An Arabian poet describes his hero by saying:—

> "Sunshine was he
> In the winter day;
> And in the midsummer
> Coolness and shade."

He who would help himself and others should not be a subject of irregular and interrupted impulses of virtue, but a continent, persisting, immovable person,— such as we have seen a few scattered up and down in time for the blessing of the world; men who have in the gravity of their nature a quality which answers to the fly-wheel in a mill, which distributes the motion equably over all the wheels, and hinders it from falling unequally and suddenly in destructive shocks. It is better that joy should be spread over all the day in the form of strength than that it should

be concentrated into ecstasies, full of danger and followed by reactions. There is a sublime prudence which is the very highest that we know of man, which, believing in a vast future,—sure of more to come than is yet seen,—postpones always the present hour to the whole life; postpones talent to genius, and special results to character. As the merchant gladly takes money from his income to add to his capital, so is the great man very willing to lose particular powers and talents, so that he gain in the elevation of his life. The opening of the spiritual senses disposes men ever to greater sacrifices, to leave their signal talents, their best means and skill of procuring a present success, their power and their fame,—to cast all things behind, in the insatiable thirst for divine communications. A purer fame, a greater power rewards the sacrifice. It is the conversion of our harvest into seed. As the farmer casts into the ground the finest ears of his grain, the time will come when we, too, shall hold nothing back, but shall eagerly convert more than we now possess into means and powers, when we shall be willing to sow the sun and the moon for seeds.

USES OF GREAT MEN

(Delivered in 1850, as the First of a Series of Seven Addresses on Representative Men)

It is natural to believe in great men. If the companions of our childhood should turn out to be heroes, and their condition regal, it would not surprise us. All mythology opens with demigods, and the circumstance is high and poetic; that is, their genius is paramount. In the legends of the Gautama, the first men ate the earth, and found it deliciously sweet.

Nature seems to exist for the excellent. The world is upheld by the veracity of good men; they make the earth wholesome. They who lived with them found life glad and nutritious. Life is sweet and tolerable only in our belief in such society; and actually or ideally we manage to live with superiors. We call our children and our lands by their names. Their names are wrought into the verbs of language, their works and effigies are in our houses, and every circumstance of the day recalls an anecdote of them.

The search after the great is the dream of youth, and the most serious occupation of manhood. We travel into foreign

parts to find his works,—if possible, to get a glimpse of him. But we are put off with fortune instead. You say the English are practical; the Germans are hospitable; in Valencia the climate is delicious; and in the hills of the Sacramento there is gold for the gathering. Yes, but I do not travel to find comfortable, rich, and hospitable people, or clear sky, or ingots that cost too much. But if there were any magnet that would point to the countries and houses where are the persons who are intrinsically rich and powerful, I would sell all and buy it and put myself on the road to-day.

The race goes with us on their credit. The knowledge that in the city is a man who invented the railroad raises the credit of all the citizens. But enormous populations, if they be beggars, are disgusting, like moving cheese, like hills of ants, or of fleas—the more, the worse.

Our religion is the love and cherishing of these patrons. The gods of fable are the shining moments of great men. We run all our vessels into one mold. Our colossal theologies of Judaism, Christism, Buddhism, Mahometism, are the necessary and structural action of the human mind. The student of history is like a man going into a warehouse to buy cloths or carpets. He fancies he has a new article. If he go to the factory, he shall find that his new stuff still repeats the scrolls and rosettes which are found on the interior walls of the pyramids of Thebes. Our Theism is the purification of the human mind. Man can paint, or make, or think nothing but man. He believes that the great material elements had their origin from his thought. And our philosophy finds one essence collected or distributed.

If now we proceed to inquire into the kinds of service we derive from others, let us be warned of the danger of modern studies, and begin low enough. We must not contend against love, or deny the substantial existence of other people. I know not what would happen to us. We have social strengths. Our affection towards others creates a sort of vantage or purchase, which nothing will supply. I can do that by another which I cannot do alone. I can say to you what I cannot first say to myself. Other men are lenses through which we read our own minds. Each man seeks those of different quality from his own, and such as are good of their kind; that is, he seeks other men, and the *otherest*. The stronger the nature, the more it is reactive. Let us have the quality pure. A little genius let us leave

alone. A main difference betwixt men is, whether they attend their own affair or not. Man is that noble endogenous plant which grows, like the palm, from within, outward. His own affair, though impossible to others, he can open with celerity and in sport. It is easy to sugar to be sweet, and to nitre to be salt. We take a great deal of pains to waylay and entrap that which of itself will fall into our hands. I count him a great man who inhabits a higher sphere of thought, into which other men rise with labor and difficulty; he has but to open his eyes to see things in a true light, and in large relations; whilst they must make painful corrections, and keep a vigilant eye on many sources of error. His service to us is of like sort. It costs a beautiful person no exertion to paint her image on our eyes; yet how splendid is that benefit! It costs no more for a wise soul to convey his quality to other men. And every one can do his best thing easiest. *Peu de moyens, beaucoup d'effét.* He is great who is what he is from nature, and who never reminds us of others.

But he must be related to us, and our life receive from him some promise of explanation. I cannot tell what I would know; but I have observed there are persons who, in their character and actions, answer questions which I have not skill to put. One man answers some question which none of his contemporaries put, and is isolated. The past and passing religions and philosophies answer some other question. Certain men affect us as rich possibilities, but helpless to themselves and to their times, —the sport, perhaps, of some instinct that rules in the air; they do not speak to our want. But the great are near; we know them at sight. They satisfy expectation, and fall into place. What is good is effective, generative; makes for itself room, food, and allies. A sound apple produces seed; a hybrid does not. Is a man in his place, he is constructive, fertile, magnetic, inundating armies with his purpose, which is thus executed. The river makes its own shores, and each legitimate idea makes it own channels and welcome,—harvests for food, institutions for expression, weapons to fight with, and disciples to explain it. The true artist has the planet for his pedestal; the adventurer, after years of strife, has nothing broader than his own shoes.

Our common discourse respects two kinds of use or service from superior men. Direct giving is agreeable to the early belief of men; direct giving of material or metaphysical aid, as of

health, eternal youth, fine senses, arts of healing, magical power, and prophecy. The boy believes there is a teacher who can sell him wisdom. Churches believe in imputed merit. But, in strictness, we are not much cognizant of direct serving. Man is endogenous, and education is his unfolding. The aid we have from others is mechanical, compared with the discoveries of nature in us. What is thus learned is delightful in the doing, and the effect remains. Right ethics are central, and go from the soul outward. Gift is contrary to the law of the universe. Serving others is serving us. I must absolve me to myself. "Mind thy affair," says the spirit; "coxcomb, would you meddle with the skies, or with other people?" Indirect service is left. Men have a pictorial or representative quality, and serve us in the intellect. Behmen and Swedenborg saw that things were representative. Men are also representative — first, of things, and secondly, of ideas.

As plants convert the minerals into food for animals, so each man converts some raw material in nature to human use. The inventors of fire, electricity, magnetism, iron, lead, glass, linen, silk, cotton; the makers of tools; the inventor of decimal notation; the geometer; the engineer; the musician,— severally make an easy way for all, through unknown and impossible confusions. Each man is, by secret liking, connected with some district of nature, whose agent and interpreter he is, as Linnæus, of plants; Huber, of bees; Fries, of lichens; Van Mons, of pears; Dalton, of atomic forms; Euclid, of lines; Newton, of fluxions.

A man is a centre for nature, running out threads of relation through everything, fluid and solid, material and elemental. The earth rolls; every clod and stone comes to the meridian; so every organ, function, acid, crystal, grain of dust, has its relation to the brain. It waits long, but its turn comes. Each plant has its parasite, and each created thing its lover and poet. Justice has already been done to steam, to iron, to wood, to coal, to loadstone, to iodine, to corn, and cotton; but how few materials are yet used by our arts! The mass of creatures and of qualities are still hid and expectant. It would seem as if each waited, like the enchanted princess in fairy tales, for a destined human deliverer. Each must be disenchanted, and walk forth to the day in human shape. In the history of discovery, the ripe and latent truth seems to have fashioned a brain for itself. A magnet must be made man, in some Gilbert, or Swedenborg,

or Oersted, before the general mind can come to entertain its powers.

If we limit ourselves to the first advantages; — a sober grace adheres to the mineral and botanic kingdoms which, in the highest moments, comes up as the charm of nature, — the glitter of the spar, the sureness of affinity, the veracity of angles. Light and darkness, heat and cold, hunger and food, sweet and sour, solid, liquid, and gas, circle us round in a wreath of pleasures, and, by their agreeable quarrel, beguile the day of life. The eye repeats every day the first eulogy on things — "He saw that they were good." We know where to find them; and these performers are relished all the more after a little experience of the pretending races. We are entitled, also, to higher advantages. Something is wanting to science until it has been humanized. The table of logarithms is one thing, and its vital play in botany, music, optics, and architecture, another. There are advancements to numbers, anatomy, architecture, astronomy, little suspected at first, when, by union with intellect and will, they ascend into the life, and reappear in conversation, character, and politics.

But this comes later. We speak now only of our acquaintance with them in their own sphere, and the way in which they seem to fascinate and draw to them some genius who occupies himself with one thing all his life long. The possibility of interpretation lies in the identity of the observer with the observed. Each material thing has its celestial side — has its translation, through humanity, into the spiritual and necessary sphere, where it plays a part as indestructible as any other. And to these, their ends, all things continually ascend. The gases gather to the solid firmament: the chemic lump arrives at the plant and grows; arrives at the quadruped, and walks; arrives at the man, and thinks. But also the constituency determines the vote of the representative. He is not only representative, but participant. Like can only be known by like. The reason why he knows about them is that he is of them; he has just come out of nature, or from being a part of that thing. Animated chlorine knows of chlorine, and incarnate zinc of zinc. Their quality makes his career, and he can variously publish their virtues because they compose him. Man, made of the dust of the world, does not forget his origin; and all that is yet inanimate will one day speak and reason. Unpublished nature will have its whole secret told. Shall we say that quartz mountains will pulverize

into innumerable Werners, Von Buchs, and Beaumonts, and the laboratory of the atmosphere holds in solution I know not what Berzeliuses and Davys?

Thus we sit by the fire and take hold on the poles of the earth. This *quasi* omnipresence supplies the imbecility of our condition. In one of those celestial days when heaven and earth meet and adorn each other, it seems a poverty that we can only spend it once; we wish for a thousand heads, a thousand bodies, that we might celebrate its immense beauty in many ways and places. Is this fancy? Well, in good faith, we are multiplied by our proxies. How easily we adopt their labors! Every ship that comes to America got its chart from Columbus. Every novel is a debtor to Homer. Every carpenter who shaves with a foreplane borrows the genius of a forgotten inventor. Life is girt all round with a zodiac of sciences—the contributions of men who have perished to add their point of light to our sky. Engineer, broker, jurist, physician, moralist, theologian, and every man, in as much as he has any science, is a definer and map-maker of the latitudes and longitudes of our condition. These road-makers on every hand enrich us. We must extend the area of life, and multiply our relations. We are as much gainers by finding a new property in the old earth as by acquiring a new planet.

We are too passive in the reception of these material or semi-material aids. We must not be sacks and stomachs. To ascend one step we are better served through our sympathy. Activity is contagious. Looking where others look, and conversing with the same things, we catch the charm which lured them. Napoleon said: "You must not fight too often with one enemy, or you will teach him all your art of war." Talk much with any man of vigorous mind, and we acquire very fast the habit of looking at things in the same light, and on each occurrence we anticipate his thought.

Men are helpful through the intellect and the affections. Other help, I find a false appearance. If you affect to give me bread and fire, I perceive that I pay for it the full price, and at last it leaves me as it found me, neither better nor worse. But all mental and moral force is a positive good. It goes out from you whether you will or not, and profits me whom you never thought of. I cannot even hear of personal vigor of any kind, great power of performance, without fresh resolution. We are emulous of all that man can do. Cecil's saying of Sir Walter

Raleigh, "I know that he can toil terribly," is an electric touch. So are Clarendon's portraits,—of Hampden, "who was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed on by the most subtle and sharp, and of a personal courage equal to his best parts,"—of Falkland, "who was so severe an adorer of truth that he could as easily have given himself leave to steal as to dissemble." We cannot read Plutarch without a tingling of the blood, and I accept the saying of the Chinese Mencius: "A sage is the instructor of a hundred ages. When the manners of Loo are heard of, the stupid become intelligent, and the wavering determined."

This is the moral of biography; yet it is hard for departed men to touch the quick like our own companions, whose names may not last as long. What is he whom I never think of? whilst in every solitude are those who succor our genius and stimulate us in wonderful manners. There is a power in love to divine another's destiny better than that other can, and, by heroic encouragements, hold him to his task. What has friendship so signal as its sublime attraction to whatever virtue is in us? We will never more think cheaply of ourselves or of life. We are piqued to some purpose, and the industry of the diggers on the railroad will not again shame us.

Under this head, too, falls that homage, very pure, as I think, which all ranks pay to the hero of the day, from Coriolanus and Gracchus down to Pitt, Lafayette, Wellington, Webster, Lamartine. Hear the shouts in the streets! The people cannot see him enough. They delight in a man. Here is a head and a trunk! What a front! what eyes! Atlantean shoulders, and the whole carriage heroic, with equal inward force to guide the great machine! This pleasure of full expression to that which, in their private experience, is usually cramped and obstructed, runs, also, much higher, and is the secret of the reader's joy in literary genius. Nothing is kept back. There is fire enough to fuse the mountain of ore. Shakespeare's principal merit may be conveyed in saying that he, of all men, best understands the English language, and can say what he will. Yet these unchoked channels and floodgates of expression are only health or fortunate constitution. Shakespeare's name suggests other and purely intellectual benefits.

Senates and sovereigns have no compliment, with their medals, swords, and armorial coats, like the addressing to a human being thoughts out of a certain height, and presupposing his intelli

gence. This honor, which is possible in personal intercourse scarcely twice in a lifetime, genius perpetually pays; contented, if now and then, in a century, the proffer is accepted. The indicators of the values of matter are degraded to a sort of cooks and confectioners, on the appearance of the indicators of ideas. Genius is the naturalist or geographer of the supersensible regions, and draws their map; and, by acquainting us with new fields of activity, cools our affection for the old. These are at once accepted as the reality, of which the world we have conversed with is the show.

We go to the gymnasium and the swimming-school to see the power and beauty of the body; there is the like pleasure, and a higher benefit, from witnessing intellectual feats of all kinds; as feats of memory, of mathematical combination, great power of abstraction, the transmutings of the imagination, even versatility, and concentration, as these acts expose the invisible organs and members of the mind, which respond, member for member, to the parts of the body. For we thus enter a new gymnasium, and learn to choose men by their truest marks, taught, with Plato, "to choose those who can, without aid from the eyes, or any other sense, proceed to truth and to being." Foremost among these activities are the somersaults, spells, and resurrections, wrought by the imagination. When this wakes, a man seems to multiply ten times or a thousand times his force. It opens the delicious sense of indeterminate size, and inspires an audacious mental habit. We are as elastic as the gas of gunpowder, and a sentence in a book or a word dropped in conversation sets free our fancy, and instantly our heads are bathed with galaxies, and our feet tread the floor of the pit. And this benefit is real, because we are entitled to these enlargements, and, once having passed the bounds, shall never again be quite the miserable pedants we were.

The high functions of the intellect are so allied that some imaginative power usually appears in all eminent minds, even in arithmeticians of the first class, but especially in meditative men of an intuitive habit of thought. This class serve us, so that they have the perception of identity and the perception of reaction. The eyes of Plato, Shakespeare, Swedenborg, Goethe, never shut on either of these laws. The perception of these laws is a kind of metre of the mind. Little minds are little, through failure to see them.

Even these feats have their surfeit. Our delight in reason degenerates into idolatry of the herald. Especially when a mind of powerful method has instructed men, we find the examples of oppression. The dominion of Aristotle, the Ptolemaic astronomy, the credit of Luther, of Bacon, of Locke,—in religion, the history of hierarchies, of saints, and the sects which have taken the name of each founder, are in point. Alas! every man is such a victim. The imbecility of men is always inviting the impudence of power. It is the delight of vulgar talent to dazzle and to bind the beholder. But true genius seeks to defend us from itself. True genius will not impoverish, but will liberate, and add new senses. If a wise man should appear in our village, he would create in those who conversed with him a new consciousness of wealth by opening their eyes to unobserved advantages; he would establish a sense of immovable equality, calm us with assurances that we could not be cheated, as every one would discern the checks and guaranties of condition. The rich would see their mistakes and poverty, the poor their escapes and their resources.

But nature brings all this about in due time. Rotation is her remedy. The soul is impatient of masters, and eager for change. Housekeepers say of a domestic who has been valuable, "She had lived with me long enough." We are tendencies, or, rather, symptoms, and none of us complete. We touch and go, and sip the foam of many lives. Rotation is the law of nature. When nature removes a great man, people explore the horizon for a successor; but none comes, and none will. His class is extinguished with him. In some other and quite different field, the next man will appear; not Jefferson, not Franklin, but now a great salesman; then a road-contractor; then a student of fishes; then a buffalo-hunting explorer, or a semi-savage western general. Thus we make a stand against our rougher masters; but against the best there is a finer remedy. The power which they communicate is not theirs. When we are exalted by ideas, we do not owe this to Plato, but to the idea, to which, also, Plato was debtor.

I must not forget that we have a special debt to a single class. Life is a scale of degrees. Between rank and rank of our great men are wide intervals. Mankind have, in all ages, attached themselves to a few persons, who, either by the quality of that idea they embodied, or by the largeness of their recep-

tion, were entitled to the position of leaders and law-givers. These teach us the qualities of primary nature,—admit us to the constitution of things. We swim, day by day, on a river of delusions, and are effectually amused with houses and towns in the air, of which the men about us are dupes. But life is a sincerity. In lucid intervals we say: "Let there be an entrance opened for me into realities; I have worn the fool's cap too long." We will know the meaning of our economies and politics. Give us the cipher, and, if persons and things are scores of a celestial music, let us read off the strains. We have been cheated of our reason; yet there have been sane men, who enjoyed a rich and related existence. What they know, they know for us. With each new mind, a new secret of nature transpires; nor can the Bible be closed, until the last great man is born. These men correct the delirium of the animal spirits, make us considerate, and engage us to new aims and powers. The veneration of mankind selects these for the highest place. Witness the multitude of statues, pictures, and memorials which recall their genius in every city, village, house, and ship:—

> "Ever their phantoms arise before us,
> Our loftier brothers, but one in blood;
> At bed and table they lord it o'er us,
> With looks of beauty, and words of good."

How are we to illustrate the distinctive benefit of ideas, the service rendered by those who introduce moral truths into the general mind? I am plagued, in all my living, with a perpetual tariff of prices. If I work in my garden and prune an apple tree, I am well enough entertained, and could continue indefinitely in the like occupation. But it comes to mind that a day is gone and I have got this precious nothing done. I go to Boston or New York and run up and down on my affairs; they are sped, but so is the day. I am vexed by the recollection of this price I have paid for a trifling advantage. I remember the *peau d'ane*, on which whoso sat should have his desire, but a piece of the skin was gone for every wish. I go to a convention of philanthropists. Do what I can, I cannot keep my eyes off the clock. But if there should appear in the company some gentle soul who knows little of persons or parties, of Carolina or Cuba, but who announces a law that disposes these particulars, and so certifies me of the equity which checkmates every false player, bankrupts

every self-seeker, and apprises me of my independence on any conditions of country, or time, or human body, that man liberates me; I forget the clock. I pass out of the sore relation to persons. I am healed of my hurts. I am made immortal by apprehending my possession of incorruptible goods. Here is great competition of rich and poor. We live in a market where is only so much wheat, or wool, or land; and if I have so much more, every other must have so much less. I seem to have no good, without breach of good manners. Nobody is glad in the gladness of another, and our system is one of war, of an injurious superiority. Every child of the Saxon race is educated to wish to be first. It is our system; and a man comes to measure his greatness by the regrets, envies, and hatreds of his competitors. But in these new fields there is room; here are no self-esteems, no exclusions.

I admire great men of all classes, those who stand for facts and for thoughts; I like rough and smooth, "Scourges of God," and "Darlings of the human race." I like the first Cæsar and Charles V. of Spain, and Charles XII. of Sweden, Richard Plantagenet, and Bonaparte in France. I applaud a sufficient man, an officer equal to his office; captains, ministers, senators. I like a master standing firm on legs of iron, well-born, rich, handsome, eloquent, loaded with advantages, drawing all men by fascination into tributaries and supporters of his power. Sword and staff, or talents sword-like or staff-like, carry on the work of the world. But I find him greater when he can abolish himself and all heroes by letting in this element of reason, irrespective of persons; this subtilizer and irresistible upward force into our thought, destroying individualism; the power so great that the potentate is nothing. Then he is a monarch who gives a constitution to his people; a pontiff who preaches the equality of souls and releases his servants from their barbarous homages; an emperor who can spare his empire.

But I intended to specify, with a little minuteness, two or three points of service. Nature never spares the opium or nepenthe; but, wherever she mars her creature with some deformity or defect, lays her poppies plentifully on the bruise, and the sufferer goes joyfully through life, ignorant of the ruin, and incapable of seeing it, though all the world point their finger at it every day. The worthless and offensive members of society, whose existence is a social pest, invariably think themselves the

most ill-used people alive, and never get over their astonishment at the ingratitude and selfishness of their contemporaries. Our globe discovers its hidden virtues, not only in heroes and archangels, but in gossips and nurses. Is it not a rare contrivance that lodged the due inertia in every creature, the conserving, resisting energy, the anger at being waked or changed? Altogether independent of the intellectual force in each is the pride of opinion, the security that we are right. Not the feeblest grandame, not a mowing idiot, but uses what spark of perception and faculty is left, to chuckle and triumph in his or her opinion over the absurdities of all the rest. Difference from me is the measure of absurdity. Not one has a misgiving of being wrong. Was it not a bright thought that made things cohere with this bitumen, fastest of cements? But, in the midst of this chuckle of self-gratulation, some figure goes by, which Thersites, too, can love and admire. This is he that should marshal us the way we were going. There is no end to his aid. Without Plato, we should almost lose our faith in the possibility of a reasonable book. We seem to want but one, but we want one. We love to associate with heroic persons, since our receptivity is unlimited; and, with the great, our thoughts and manners easily become great. We are all wise in capacity, though so few in energy. There needs but one wise man in a company, and all are wise, so rapid is the contagion.

Great men are thus a collyrium to clear our eyes from egotism and enable us to see other people and their works. But there are vices and follies incident to whole populations and ages. Men resemble their contemporaries even more than their progenitors. It is observed in old couples, or in persons who have been housemates for a course of years, that they grow alike; and, if they should live long enough, we should not be able to know them apart. Nature abhors these complaisances, which threaten to melt the world into a lump, and hastens to break up such maudlin agglutinations. The like assimilation goes on between men of one town, of one sect, of one political party; and the ideas of the time are in the air, and infect all who breathe it. Viewed from any high point, this city of New York, yonder city of London, the western civilization, would seem a bundle of insanities. We keep each other in countenance, and exasperate by emulation the frenzy of the time. The shield against the stings of conscience is the universal practice of our contempo-

raries. Again; it is very easy to be as wise and good as your companions. We learn of our contemporaries what they know, without effort, and almost through the pores of the skin. We catch it by sympathy, or as a wife arrives at the intellectual and moral elevations of her husband. But we stop where they stop. Very hardly can we take another step. The great, or such as hold of nature and transcend fashions, by their fidelity to universal ideas, are saviors from these federal errors, and defend us from our contemporaries. They are the exceptions which we want, where all grows alike. A foreign greatness is the antidote for cabalism.

Thus we feed on genius, and refresh ourselves from too much conversation with our mates, and exult in the depth of nature in that direction in which he leads us. What indemnification is one great man for populations of pigmies! Every mother wishes one son a genius, though all the rest should be mediocre. But a new danger appears in the excess of influence of the great man. His attractions warp us from our place. We have become underlings and intellectual suicides. Ah! yonder in the horizon is our help: — other great men, new qualities, counterweights and checks on each other. We cloy of the honey of each peculiar greatness. Every hero becomes a bore at last. Perhaps Voltaire was not bad-hearted, yet he said of the good Jesus, even: "I pray you, let me never hear that man's name again." They cry up the virtues of George Washington, — "Damn George Washington!" is the poor Jacobin's whole speech and confutation. But it is human nature's indispensable defense. The centripetence augments the centrifugence. We balance one man with his opposite; and the health of the state depends on the seesaw.

There is, however, a speedy limit to the use of heroes. Every genius is defended from approach by quantities of unavailableness. They are very attractive, and seem at a distance our own; but we are hindered on all sides from approach. The more we are drawn, the more we are repelled. There is something not solid in the good that is done for us. The best discovery the discoverer makes for himself. It has something unreal for his companion, until he too has substantiated it. It seems as if the Deity dressed each soul which he sends into nature in certain virtues and powers not communicable to other men, and, sending it to perform one more turn through the circle of beings, wrote, "Not transferable," and "Good for this trip only," on these gar-

ments of the soul. There is something deceptive about the intercourse of minds. The boundaries are invisible, but they are never crossed. There is such good will to impart, and such good will to receive, that each threatens to become the other; but the law of individuality collects its secret strength: you are you, and I am I, and so we remain.

For Nature wishes everything to remain itself; and, whilst every individual strives to grow and exclude, and to exclude and grow, to the extremities of the universe, and to impose the law of its being on every other creature, Nature steadily aims to protect each against every other. Each is self-defended. Nothing is more marked than the power by which individuals are guarded from individuals, in a world where every benefactor becomes so easily a malefactor, only by continuation of his activity into places where it is not due; where children seem so much at the mercy of their foolish parents, and where almost all men are too social and interfering. We rightly speak of the guardian angels of children. How superior in their security from infusions of evil persons, from vulgarity and second thought! They shed their own abundant beauty on the objects they behold. Therefore, they are not at the mercy of such poor educators as we adults. If we huff and chide them, they soon come not to mind it, and get a self-reliance; and if we indulge them to folly, they learn the limitation elsewhere.

We need not fear excessive influence. A more generous trust is permitted. Serve the great. Stick at no humiliation. Grudge no office thou canst render. Be the limb of their body, the breath of their mouth. Compromise thy egotism. Who cares for that, so thou gain aught wider and nobler? Never mind the taunt of Boswellism: the devotion may easily be greater than the wretched pride which is guarding its own skirts. Be another: not thyself, but a Platonist; not a soul, but a Christian; not a naturalist, but a Cartesian; not a poet, but a Shakesperean. In vain, the wheels of tendency will not stop, nor will all the forces of inertia, fear, or of love itself, hold thee there. On, and forever onward! The microscope observes a monad or wheel-insect among the infusories circulating in water. Presently, a dot appears on the animal, which enlarges to a slit, and it becomes two perfect animals. The ever-proceeding detachment appears not less in all thought, and in society. Children think they cannot live without their parents. But, long before they

are aware of it, the black dot has appeared, and the detachment taken place. Any accident will now reveal to them their independence.

But "great men":—the word is injurious. Is there caste? is there fate? What becomes of the promise to virtue? The thoughtful youth laments the superfœtation of nature. "Generous and handsome," he says, "is your hero; but look at yonder poor Paddy, whose country is his wheelbarrow; look at his whole nation of Paddies." Why are the masses, from the dawn of history down, food for knives and powder? The idea dignifies a few leaders, who have sentiment, opinion, love, self-devotion; and they make war and death sacred;—but what for the wretches whom they hire and kill? The cheapness of man is every day's tragedy. It is as real a loss that others should be low, as that we should be low; for we must have society.

Is it a reply to these suggestions to say society is a Pestalozzian school; all are teachers and pupils in turn? We are equally served by receiving and by imparting. Men who know the same things are not long the best company for each other. But bring to each an intelligent person of another experience, and it is as if you let off water from a lake by cutting a lower basin. It seems a mechanical advantage, and great benefit it is to each speaker, as he can now paint out his thought to himself. We pass very fast, in our personal moods, from dignity to dependence. And if any appear never to assume the chair, but always to stand and serve, it is because we do not see the company in a sufficiently long period for the whole rotation of parts to come about. As to what we call the masses and common men—there are no common men. All men are at last of a size; and true art is only possible on the conviction that every talent has its apotheosis somewhere. Fair play and an open field, and freshest laurels to all who have won them! But heaven reserves an equal scope for every creature. Each is uneasy until he has produced his private ray unto the conclave sphere, and beheld his talent, also, in its last nobility and exaltation.

The heroes of the hour are relatively great; of a faster growth; or they are such in whom, at the moment of success, a quality is ripe which is then in request. Other days will demand other qualities. Some rays escape the common observer, and want a finely adapted eye. Ask the great man if there be none greater. His companions are; and not the less great but the

more, that society cannot see them. Nature never sends a great man into the planet, without confiding the secret to another soul.

One gracious fact emerges from these studies,—that there is true ascension in our love. The reputations of the nineteenth century will one day be quoted to prove its barbarism. The genius of humanity is the real subject whose biography is written in our annals. We must infer much, and supply many chasms in the record. The history of the universe is symptomatic and life is mnemonical. No man, in all the procession of famous men, is reason or illumination, or that essence we were looking for, but is an exhibition, in some quarter, of new possibilities. Could we one day complete the immense figure which these flagrant points compose! The study of many individuals leads us to an elemental region wherein the individual is lost, or wherein all touch by their summits. Thought and feeling that break out there cannot be impounded by any fence of personality. This is the key to the power of the greatest men,—their spirit diffuses itself. A new quality of mind travels by night and by day in concentric circles from its origin, and publishes itself by unknown methods; the union of all minds appears intimate; what gets admission to one cannot be kept out of any other; the smallest acquisition of truth or of energy, in any quarter, is so much good to the commonwealth of souls. If the disparities of talent and position vanish when the individuals are seen in the duration which is necessary to complete the career of each, even more swiftly the seeming injustice disappears when we ascend to the central identity of all the individuals, and know that they are made of the substance which ordaineth and doeth.

The genius of humanity is the right point of view of history. The qualities abide; the men who exhibit them have now more, now less, and pass away; the qualities remain on another brow. No experience is more familiar. Once you saw phœnixes: they are gone; the world is not therefore disenchanted. The vessels on which you read sacred emblems turn out to be common pottery; but the sense of the pictures is sacred, and you may still read them transferred to the walls of the world. For a time, our teachers serve us personally, as metres or milestones of progress. Once they were angels of knowledge, and their figures touched the sky. Then we drew near, saw their means, culture, and limits, and they yielded their places to other geniuses. Happy, if a few names remain so high, that we have not been

able to read them nearer, and age and comparison have not robbed them of a ray. But, at last, we shall cease to look in men for completeness, and shall content ourselves with their social and delegated quality. All that respects the individual is temporary and prospective, like the individual himself, who is ascending out of his limits, into a catholic existence. We have never come at the true and best benefit of any genius, so long as we believe him an original force. In the moment when he ceases to help us as a cause, he begins to help us more as an effect. Then he appears as an exponent of a vaster mind and will. The opaque self becomes transparent with the light of the First Cause.

Yet, within the limits of human education and agency, we may say, great men exist that there may be greater men. The destiny of organized nature is amelioration, and who can tell its limits? It is for man to tame the chaos; on every side, whilst he lives, to scatter the seeds of science and of song, that climate, corn, animals, men, may be milder, and the germs of love and benefit may be multiplied.

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